

The LUTHERAN C H U R C H QUARTERLY

VOLUME XIV

OCTOBER, 1941

NUMBER 4

LUTHERAN MATURITY IN CANADA

By N. Willison

ALBRECHT RITSCHL IN MODERN THOUGHT

By Otto W. Heick

HUMANITARIANISM AND INNER MISSIONS

By Willard D. Allbeck

PHILOSOPHY'S INFLUENCE ON LUTHER

By Harold A. Dunkelberger

GOD HAS LEFT WITNESSES

By Ivan H. Hagedorn

The Training of Rural Pastors *By Martin D. Schroeder*
The Negro and the Lutheran Church *By Hubert J. Henrich*
Requirements for Church Social Work *By Anna Ebert*

AMONG THE NEW BOOKS

INDEX TO VOLUME XIV

TIMES AND NEWS PUBLISHING COMPANY
GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE	350
--------------------------------------	-----

ARTICLES

LUTHERAN MATURITY IN CANADA. <i>By N. Willison</i>	351
ALBRECHT RITSCHL IN MODERN THOUGHT. <i>By Otto W. Heick</i>	361
HUMANITARIANISM AND INNER MISSIONS <i>By Willard D. Allbeck</i>	378
PHILOSOPHY'S INFLUENCE ON LUTHER. <i>By Harold A. Dunkelberger</i>	392
GOD HAS LEFT WITNESSES. <i>By Ivan H. Hagedorn</i>	405

NOTES AND STUDIES

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE TRAINING OF RURAL PASTORS. <i>By Martin D. Schroeder</i>	417
THE NEGRO OF THE NORTH AND THE LUTHERAN CHURCH. <i>By Hubert J. Henrich</i>	422
REQUIREMENTS FOR CHURCH SOCIAL WORK. <i>By Anna Ebert</i>	429

AMONG THE NEW BOOKS

Piper, <i>The Christian Interpretation of Sex</i> (E. E. Fischer)	437
Maier, <i>For Better Not For Worse</i> (P. L. Reaser)	438
Cadoux, <i>Christian Pacifism Re-examined</i> (P. J. Hoh)	439
Coates, <i>War—What Does the Bible Say?</i> (H. Keiter)	440
Boylan, <i>Social Welfare in the Catholic Church</i> (C. E. Krumboltz)	442
Niebuhr, <i>The Meaning of Revelation</i> (T. A. Kantonen)	444
Mathews, <i>Is God Emeritus?</i> (C. C. Rasmussen)	446
Smith-Irwin, <i>The Prophets and Their Times</i> (H. C. Alleman)	447
Mould, <i>The World-View of Jesus</i> (R. T. Stamm)	448
Barnett, <i>Paul Becomes a Literary Influence</i> (R. T. Stamm)	449
Spinka-Downey, <i>Chronicle of John Malalas</i> (R. T. Stamm)	450
Hjortsvang, <i>The Amateur Choir Director</i> (G. R. Seltzer)	451
Gearhart, <i>The Romance of the Creed Builders</i> (S. Billheimer)	451
Norton, <i>Bishop Butler, Moralism and Divine</i> (R. W. Stine)	452
Riviere, <i>A Pastor Looks at Kierkegaard</i> (B. Lotz)	454
Kierkegaard-Hong, <i>For Self-Examination</i> (B. Lotz)	454
Polack, <i>The Building of a Great Church</i> (T. G. Tappert)	455
Jones, <i>Is the Kingdom of God Realism?</i> (L. R. Tabor)	455
Clark, <i>Eight American Praxapostoloi</i> (R. D. Snyder)	456
Krauss, <i>A Lamp of Burnished Gold</i> (J. F. Futchs)	456
Spinka, <i>John Hus and the Czech Reform</i> (T. G. Tappert)	457
Stolz, <i>Pastoral Psychology</i> (C. J. Schindler)	457

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY

Editors

Theodore G. Tappert
Emil E. Fischer
Philadelphia

Harvey D. Hoover
Raymond T. Stamm
Gettysburg

Volume XIV

July, 1941

Number 3

Published quarterly by the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, continuing *The Lutheran Quarterly* (founded in Gettysburg as *The Evangelical Review* in 1849) and *The Lutheran Church Review* (founded in Philadelphia in 1882). Entered at the Gettysburg Post Office as second-class matter.

Indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals*.

Subscription \$2.50 a year in advance; single copies 75 cents. Subscriptions and all business communications should be addressed to Professor Harvey D. Hoover, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Manuscripts, books for review, and other editorial correspondence should be addressed to Professor Theodore G. Tappert, 7333 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The aims of THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY are (1) to give intellectual expression to the faith of the United Lutheran Church in America as set forth in its doctrinal basis, to maintain that faith, and to show constantly its relation to the practical religious living of those who hold it; (2) to promote cordial understandings between the bodies of Lutherans, both in America and Europe, and between Lutheran and other Christian groups; (3) to discuss, in a constructive and helpful manner, the relation of the faith of the Lutheran Church to the religious issues involved in contemporary life and thought.

The editors will welcome contributions that are likely to be helpful in the furtherance of the aims set forth above. It will be required of such contributions that they shall be frank and fair in their discussion of moot questions; that they shall be free from controversial animus; and that their contents shall be of real scholarly and practical value to the reader. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY shall be conducted with due regard for the Christian liberty which proves all things and holds fast that which is good, and for which the Lutheran Church has always stood. Difference of opinion between contributors, or between a contributor and the editors, will not of itself exclude articles from publication, since the editors will not hold themselves responsible for the opinions of contributors. The editors reserve the right to reject any article without assigning a reason for their action.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

N. WILLISON, for many years professor in Waterloo (Ontario) Theological Seminary, is now president of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada.

OTTO W. HEICK, pastor of Christ Church in Ellis, Kansas, has collaborated with Professor J. L. Neve in a history of Christian thought which is soon to be published.

WILLARD D. ALLBECK is professor of Practical and Historical Theology in Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio.

HAROLD A. DUNKELBERGER is pastor of Trinity Church, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania.

IVAN H. HAGEDORN is pastor of Bethel Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

MARTIN D. SCHROEDER is Rural Work Representative of the Board of American Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America.

HUBERT J. HENRICH is assistant to the pastor of St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

ANNA EBERT is directing sister in the Philadelphia Motherhouse of Deaconesses and an authority in Christian social work.

Among the reviewers of books in this number are PAUL L. REASER, pastor of Bethany Church in Altoona, Pennsylvania; HERMAN KEITER, director of personnel in Hartwick Seminary, Oneonta, New York; C. E. KRUMBHOLTZ, director of the Department of Welfare in the National Lutheran Council; T. A. KANTONEN, professor of Systematic Theology in Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio; STANLEY BILLHEIMER, pastor of Palm United Church, Palmyra, Pennsylvania; RUSSELL W. STINE, assistant professor of Religion and Philosophy in Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania; BENJAMIN LOTZ, pastor of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; L. RALPH TABOR, pastor of Third Church in Baltimore, Maryland; JOHN F. FUTCHS, pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Burkes Garden, Virginia.

LUTHERAN MATURITY IN CANADA

N. WILLISON
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

IS THE Lutheran Church in Canada attaining adulthood? And, if so, is the fact realized by herself and by others? The answer to these questions is of great importance to the church herself in Canada, to the Canadian public, and to the general bodies of the church on the continent. The thesis on which this paper may be said to be based can be expressed in the following proposition: The Lutheran Church in Canada is attaining the maturity of adulthood and is acquiring the right to be regarded as a responsible personal entity.

In discussing this thesis I must ask for a large measure of kind indulgence. However I may refer to the church in Europe and to the church in the United States, and whatever suggestions I may make, my desire is to acknowledge to the highest degree the obligation of gratitude to a mother and a big sister that have made such invaluable contributions to the life of the Canadian member of the family. In presenting the Canadian situation I must of necessity give expression to a consciousness of orientation out from Canada. I contend that the Lutheran Church in Canada and the Lutheran Church in the United States are, and of necessity have to be, in a sense, two entities, and that the church in Canada is entitled to recognition on a basis of neighborly equality. I would like to rouse the church in my own country to a keener sense of the importance of her station in Canadian life that she may escape from that backwardness which has been the outcome of a feeling, more or less openly admitted, that Lutheranism in Canada is an exotic, a foreign element in the nation. I would also avail myself of the opportunity of expressing appreciation to the church in the United States for all the neighborly assistance that has been and is still being given, while at the same time pointing out that the church in Canada, in spite of divi-

sions and memberships in different international bodies, has an entity of her own simply because she is a Canadian church.

I

In relation to the North American story the Lutheran Church in Canada has the maturity of years. She has been in the country from the beginning and her story is an integral part of Canadian history as her people have explored and fought and labored and organized and worshiped throughout the centuries. In his very interesting book, *Acadia and the Acadians*, the Rev. Luther D. Roth calls attention to the Norse discoverers of Canada, showing that, almost five hundred years before the voyage of Columbus to the West Indies and four hundred ninety-five years before the British explorer, John Cabot, landed on the shores of Newfoundland, Lief Erickson from Iceland had set foot on the soil of Nova Scotia. That is, Nova Scotia was discovered by Erickson in 1002. Now, with all his love of Nova Scotia and things Lutheran, Pastor Roth does not claim that Lief Erickson and his sailors were Lutherans, but it is nevertheless a fact that in the process of their advance in religious truth the descendants of these Icelanders became Lutherans and they are honorably represented in Canada today by the Icelandic Synod. One of their descendants, the Hon. J. T. Thorson of Winnipeg, was made minister for War Services in the Canadian government in June, 1941.

The oldest Protestant cemetery in Canada is that of the Danish Lutheran party that wintered on the shores of Hudson's Bay in 1619 and 1620. Lutherans accompanied Lord Cornwallis and helped him to found the city of Halifax in 1749. Others followed Captain Lawrence to Lunenburg and established that town in 1753. This is still the center of Nova Scotia Lutheranism. From Nova Scotia records we learn that many French Lutherans from Alsace and Lorraine arrived in Halifax in 1752. Their French names still persist on the rolls of the Nova Scotia Synod. In 1761 the first Lutheran Church was dedicated and the first Lutheran confirmation service was held in Halifax. In

the struggle of Britain and France for the possession of Canada a number of Lutheran soldiers fought in the victorious army of General Wolfe and a Lutheran chaplain ministered to the soldiers at the siege of Louisburg in 1758. Following the War of Independence many Lutherans who insisted on remaining loyal to their British king were given homes in the maritime provinces and on the shores of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. In 1934 the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Lutheran Church on the banks of the St. Lawrence was celebrated with impressive public services at which the prime minister of Canada and the president of the United Lutheran Church gave addresses. A congregation was founded near Toronto in 1792.

Canada owes much to these Lutheran people for their labors in opening up and developing large areas of virgin forests and for the honorable Christian character with which they leavened the nation. Lutherans continued to share in the transforming of the country and much of the territory between Lake Ontario and Lake Huron, and along Lake Erie, owes its present beautiful and prosperous condition to the energy, sound judgment, and good taste of Lutheran men and women who left Europe to escape the political disturbances and hard times of the decades immediately following the Napoleonic Wars. The Canadian Hydro-Electric System is placed to the credit of a son of one of these homes. So are well-cultivated farms and numerous and ingeniously varied industrial developments the results of the wise and aggressive thrift of others.

In 1859, in New Hamburg, Ontario, "The Canadian Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod" was organized, and in 1861 the first Canadian Synod, "The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada," had its birth in Zion Church, Sherwood, Ontario. This was six years before Canadian Confederation and before the organization of the General Council, of which the Canada Synod became a charter member. Not long after the Crimean War of 1855-1856 trouble developed for Mennonite and Lutheran inhabitants of Southern Russia. A law of 1871 withdrew some of the privi-

leges under which these people had settled in Russia and they promptly decided to emigrate. They looked to the United States and Canada. In 1873 a representative committee met with government officials of the newly-formed Province of Manitoba and later received special concessions from Ottawa. Then began the Lutheran settlements on the great western prairies. Immigrants came from Russia, Iceland, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Austria, Hungary, and other parts of Europe, and from the United States. And let it not be forgotten—I note this for the consideration of other Canadians—that these people were not forcing their way in among settled populations but, with special encouragement from the Canadian government, were doing the work of explorers and pioneers, breaking the prairies, establishing homes, and in every way making easier the entrance of multitudes that would follow. If any people are entitled to the designation “Canadian,” Lutheran pioneers and their children can claim it, for throughout the length and breadth of the land they have been among the first in the forests, on the fields, in the mines, and at the machines of expanding industry. As Lutheran pastors have followed them congregations have been established and conferences and synods formed. In this work invaluable assistance has been given by the church in the United States. It must also, in all frankness, be stated that some problems have been brought over. Every general body on the continent has its conferences or districts or synods in Canada, but no general body has its headquarters in Canada. The controversies that have retarded union in Canada have not been developed there.

It has been noted, and should be repeated, that Lutherans have been in the vanguard of Canadian progress. The Lutheran Church is not a recent importation into Canada, nor is she a foreign church in the sense that she is something alien to the Christian life of Canada. She is as much a part of Canadian constructive activity and national development as any other religious body and, because of her diverse origins, she has rendered a greater service on behalf of true Canadianism than she generally gets credit for. The Lutheran Church may well say

"We" in all matters Canadian and need not be apologetic about assuming a proportionate share of religious privileges and obligations. She may claim adulthood among churches in Canada.

II

But have we the strength of adulthood? It may be objected at once that maturity cannot be claimed for a church that is not able to support herself. This objection may be admitted if it has a financial reference only. Canadian home missions, education, and pensions are constantly being liberally supported by all the general bodies from funds derived mostly from the membership in the United States. For this we are indeed, and I hope ever shall be, profoundly grateful. But does the receiving of such support indicate lack of maturity in strength? No person is strong enough to perform any labor that may be assigned to him, and I submit that the work to be done in Canada is not our special obligation any more than the going into all the world according to the command of the Lord is the obligation of any particular part of the church as distinct from the rest. The missionary task, I contend, belongs to the Christian church as a whole. So does the vast home mission field in Canada. The assistance that we need and shall continue to need should be viewed as a claim of the Kingdom of God. The missionary obligations in Canada result from the influx of large populations from the church outside—from Europe and from the United States. The church in the United States, by assisting Canadian missions and Canadian theological education, has acted nobly, but after all she has only helped to conserve material that has been transferred from the United States and other countries to Canada. Failure to provide promptly for the multitudes that have streamed into Canada has been due to the fact that the task was too great, both for the European and American churches. Let it not be an argument against her maturity that the church in Canada has not been equal to it and is not yet able to do it alone. In making this statement I am not overlooking human weakness. No doubt more could have been done. In Canada the principal weakness has been due

to divisions within the church that have not been of Canada's making but have been imported into the country. With these divisions removed our numerical strength would seem to have far more impressive proportions. The latest available statistics show the baptized membership in Canada to be: United Lutheran Church, 63,501; Synodical Conference, 43,706; American Lutheran Conference, 38,964: a total of 147,171. To these should be added a few smaller groups that would probably bring the grand total to 150,000. In this connection it should also be noted that, according to the 1931 Canadian Census, the number of Lutherans in the country then was 394,194.

To be sure, membership alone does not of itself give strength. Organization and unity must exist. Organization in isolated units we do have. We have synods and conferences, mission committees, college and seminary boards. We have three junior colleges, one senior college, and two seminaries. We have wide-awake and aggressive auxiliary societies such as the Luther League, the Women's Missionary Society, Ladies Aids, Brotherhoods, and, during the war, the Canadian Lutheran Commission for War Service. We have several church papers. The question may be asked: Is sufficient scope provided the organization we have for the realization of the consciousness of strength? Could more training for the inevitable future autonomy of the Canadian church be given? May it be that the church in Canada possesses a higher degree of maturity than the measure of trust reposed in her enables her to realize? Maturity looks for a share in administration on the basis of equality of sovereign rights inherent in the very state of maturity. It is admitted, indeed, that there is great disparity in size and resources between the two parts of the church concerned. Because the church in Canada is smaller she suffers more from the existing divisions in the general bodies than the church in the United States. All the general bodies are represented on our field and their activities seldom converge but run parallel to each other. Even the four synods that hold membership in the United Lutheran Church have their orientation, not to each other, but in parallel lines to the United Lutheran

Church. Such organization does not bring about integration. What the church in Canada needs before she can realize her destiny is a deeper sense of unity within herself and then the consciousness that she is a partner in the work to be done and not a dependent. She needs to be accorded the status, not of a child requiring nurture, but of a colleague in a common enterprise.

The Lutheran Church in Canada lacks organic national form, but she is not devoid of Canadian national consciousness. Should her form correspond to her consciousness? Should her national consciousness without the form receive recognition?

III

Hope springs eternal in the breast of the Canadian church. Her outlook is that of an eager adulthood that is not daunted by problems and is jealous of its rights. When she works with others she would have a share in determining what that work is to be and how it is to be done. If she has a national personal entity, that entity cannot be merged; it can only be linked under personal conditions. In corporate action this implies representation.

At the Convention of the United Lutheran Church in Omaha not a single Canadian was elected to any board or standing committee. There is no clause in the constitution of the church that provides for Canadian representation. Objections were raised in committee to the nominating of Canadians because such nominees, if elected, would add too much to the travel expenses of the church! And this in spite of the fact that much of Canada is nearer to the headquarters of the United Lutheran Church than the entire membership in the United States west of Columbus, Ohio, and almost as near as Pittsburgh. And this in spite of the general practice of most organizations of international composition! And in spite of the common conception of democratic rights!

May I refer again to the fact that the Lutheran Church in Canada is, after all, in Canada and not in the United States. She cannot be regarded as merely a regional part of the church

in the United States. In making this statement I do not want to be misunderstood. Canadians appreciate fully the admirable neighborliness shown in every way to Canada by the United States. The relations between our two countries are among the happiest conditions in world affairs. These relations are an object lesson to all the world as to the possibilities of the practice of international good will. May their quality grow ever more refined! We members of the United Lutheran Church who are in Canada also appreciate more than words can express what the brethren in the United States have done for us. It is partly for this very reason that I make bold to state my views frankly. It is indeed true that the boundary line between the United States and Canada is almost imaginary, and yet the United States considers it necessary to insist on passports from Canadians wishing to visit the country and Canada imposes special restrictions regarding the taking of Canadian money into the United States and the holding of United States money in Canada. On neither side can we escape immigration and customs regulations. We are two nations after all, each one of sovereign power. The story of the Lutheran Church in Canada is a story of unbroken loyalty to the British throne. The Canadian synods included in the membership of the United Lutheran Church are not only constituent synods of that body but together they are the Canadian portion of it. As such they not only have a church consciousness in common with the other synods, but they also have a legitimate and necessary state consciousness that cannot be merged with that of the other synods and cannot be represented by them. This being true it is important that the fact be acknowledged in matters of worship, education, literature, and administration. One part of the church cannot adequately represent the other part, not because it would not do so but because the other part is entitled to its own representation. Pressing the principle to logical conclusions, I contend that the Canadian part of the church, while continuing in a state of affiliation, is entitled to representation, not in electoral competition with the membership in the United States but in electoral co-operation through a double

slate of nominees, a specified number for each part of the church to be elected by general balloting.

My view is that all efforts and practices should prepare for and ultimately lead to a United Lutheran Church in Canada. All my life I have toyed with this dream. I have constantly deplored existing divisions. I have never been able to see justification for them. The first obstacle to Lutheran union in Canada is the failure of the general bodies to realize in practical administration and fellowship the unity declared to exist through common Confessions. That there would be other difficulties to overcome in achieving Canadian union has to be admitted. One is the geographical vastness of the Canadian area and the sparse Lutheran population. This condition also interferes with relations under the present system. We are also held back in the realization of desirable compactness by the very progressiveness of our development. Some of the immigration is so recent that racial and language differences have retarded the attainment of homogeneous church life. A source of growing strength is the ever increasing number of indigenous pastors, men who are trained in our own seminaries and who regard the Canadian field as the proper sphere of their labors. According to the clerical rolls in the last minutes of the synods of Nova Scotia, Canada, and Manitoba, there were 168 pastors and 84 of them were trained in the two Canadian seminaries, 51 in Waterloo and 33 in Saskatoon. With very few exceptions the Canadian trained men have remained in Canada. With the seminary of the Norwegian Lutheran Church established in co-operation with our seminary in Saskatoon new resources will be added to the Canadian church as a whole.

For some years there has been a more or less publicly expressed desire for a United Lutheran Church in Canada. That desire has met with a sympathetic response outside of Canada. As early as 1925 Dr. Knubel, in an address in Sebastopol, Ontario, gave his approval to the hope on condition that the new organization should not enter into any relations with a Lutheran body outside of Canada that it did not have with the United

Lutheran Church. A questionnaire in the Augustana Synod some years earlier as to how best to maintain Lutheranism in Canada resulted in the advice that "all Lutheran churches in Canada should form a 'United Lutheran Church of Canada.'" Recently Dr. Bersell gave emphatic expression to his approval. Other presidents within the American Lutheran Conference are said to favor such a development. Other conditions being favorable, such a change need not in any way impair the cordiality of present relationships.

Our church has a great task in Canada. The missionary and educational needs are very great. I do not think that any missionaries in any field are showing greater devotion and accepting greater hardships in service than the pastors on the far-flung prairies, on the rugged seashore, or in the forests or mining areas of the North. Geographically the Lutheran Church in Canada is divided into four parts: Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec, the prairie provinces, and the Pacific coast. The heroism associated with beginnings everywhere is beyond praise. The efforts put forth on all fields now are energetic and faithful. Colleges and seminaries are providing laborers and leaders. Exactly fifty per cent of the pastors in three of the synods have been trained in Waterloo and Saskatoon. Noble-hearted and generous friends throughout the whole church have given support directly and indirectly. God has been very gracious. We have a goodly land and a glorious Gospel of an ineffable Saviour. May God through His Holy Spirit continue to bless the church everywhere, may the entire membership move steadily upward in sanctification, and may multitudes of others be added to the fold to the glory of the Triune God. Amen.

ALBRECHT RITSCHL IN MODERN THOUGHT

OTTO W. HEICK

Ellis, Kansas

NO ONE acquainted with Protestant thought in the second half of the nineteenth century will deny that Albrecht Ritschl was the leading theologian of that time. In an age dominated by a growing interest in the so-called exact sciences, Ritschlian theology seemed to offer the only grounds on which Christianity could reasonably be defended. Because of their importance in the history of theological thought, the principal tenets in the thought-world of Ritschl deserve more than passing notice today.

Ritschl was born in 1822 at Berlin where his father was influential in promoting the cause of the Prussian Union. As a student he came under the influence of such mediating theologians as K. L. Nitzsch at Bonn, J. Mueller and A. Tholuck at Halle, and Rothe at Heidelberg, and began at Halle the study of the works of the then greatest authority in the field of the New Testament, F. C. Baur of Tübingen. Baur so strongly attracted him that he decided to complete his studies at Tübingen. When he began his teaching career at Bonn (1846) he was a follower of Baur, as is evident from the first edition of his *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (1850) in which he followed the Tübingen interpretation of early Christianity as a synthesis of the Petrine (thesis) and Pauline (antithesis) conception of the Gospel. His subsequent break with Baur became known when he published the second edition of this historical monograph (1852). In 1864 he was called to the University of Göttingen, the theological school of the Lutheran Church of Hannover. There he wrote his *opus magnum*, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (3 vols. 1870 ff).¹ He died in 1889.

¹ The first volume translated by John J. Black, *A Critical Study of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, 1872; the third volume edited by H. R. Mackintosh and A. B. Macaulay, 1900.

Beginning his career at a time when philosophical idealism was discredited and the mystical experience of Schleiermacher's school was going out of fashion, Ritschl established himself on what we now call the "otherness" of faith and Christianity. If philosophy and science move in the sphere of intellectual truth, religion, according to Ritschl, has its place in the realm of practical values.² While he thus eliminated from theology all semblance of mysticism,³ he also surrendered the intellectual implications of orthodox faith in deference to science. Above all, he will be remembered for the distinction he made between *Seinsurteile* and *Werturteile*.⁴ A *Seinsurteil* (judgment of being), according to him, is a mere intellectual statement concerning the being of a thing, while a *Werturteil* (judgment of value) is an emotional statement involving a personal commitment. Theology, he claimed, is not interested in pure being since human reason is not able in any case to establish a purely theoretical knowledge of God. These epistemological principles were conditioned by the Neo-Kantianism of the Marburg School which was in the ascendancy at that time.

The sources for a genuine understanding of Christianity are for Ritschl to be found only in the Bible. Since he thus isolated Christianity altogether from the general history of religions and rejected emphatically the idea of a natural theology,⁵ he became, in principle, a Biblicist. In conscious opposition to the prevailing theology of his time (Schleiermacher), he did not look to religious experience as a source of religious knowledge.

In his teaching concerning God he tried to remove from the concept of God the idea of "divine wrath." He called this notion

2 Cf. W. Elert, who assigns to Ritschl first place in the section, "*Die theologische Verselbständigung des Christentums*" (The Declaration of Theological Independence of Christianity) in *Der Kampf um das Christentum seit Schleiermacher und Hegel*, 1921, pp. 258 ff.

3 Cf. especially his *Geschichte des Pietismus*, 3 vols. 1880 ff.

4 The distinction did not originate with Ritschl; rather he took it over from Julius Kaftan.

5 Walter M. Horton has an interesting footnote in his book *Theism and the Modern Mind*, 1930, p. 96: "My colleague, Dr. F. H. Foster, when a young student in Germany, made a remark in Ritschl's presence about natural theology. 'Natural theology!' snapped out Ritschl, 'there is no such thing!'"

an "unrelated and formless theologumenon." The only adequate concept of God, he held, is expressed in the concept of love. God is only Father who will unconditionally forgive when man ventures to draw near to Him. This never-changing attitude of God was fully revealed in Jesus who is, as Ritschl says, "the perfect Revealer of God and the *Urbild* of a spiritual dominion over the world." If man is inspired by the example of Jesus, he gives up his mistrust of God and becomes reconciled to God. Reconciliation is not the prerequisite of justification but rather its consequence. The purpose of forgiveness is to produce in the church and in the individual the ethics exemplified in Christ. These involve a lordship over nature and its inherent limitations; they are characterized by a cheerful belief in divine providence and are operative in the believer's worldly calling. Accordingly there is no room for ascetic ideals in Ritschl's thought. The Kingdom of God is completely stripped of its eschatological significance; it is, as with Kant, ethical through and through. The church's teaching of original sin is replaced with the corporate conception of sin. As regards the Reformation Ritschl held that Luther remained essentially on the level of Roman Catholicism; only in their ethical ideals did the Reformers offer something new.

It is evident from this brief review that Ritschl held to a thoroughly anti-intellectual, anti-metaphysical, anti-mystical, anti-ascetic and anti-eschatological conception of the Christian religion. Christianity was to him essentially a new way of life. The question for us is, How much of this theology has survived? Where is its influence felt today? It goes without saying that Ritschl's theology as a system is dead. But does that mean that Ritschl left no permanent impression on succeeding generations?

In speaking of a "Ritschlian theology" we must be on our guard, as H. R. Mackintosh rightly says, "against the mistake of hastily identifying 'the theology of Ritschl' with what is more generally known as 'the Ritschlian theology.'"⁶ Some of those tenets which we now regard as typically Ritschlian are more in the nature of a hidden force than clear statements in the master's

system. His conception of Christianity is moralistic through and through, but he never denied *expressis verbis* the metaphysical sonship of Jesus. He only maintained that the metaphysical nature of the Lord cannot be an object of theological inquiry and, consequently, not a matter of the church's creed.

Among the most consistent Ritschlians we find Albrecht Ritschl's son, Otto, who, up to his death a few years ago, held a theological chair in the University of Bonn. He wrote a *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus* in four large volumes (1908 ff.).

The best known scholar of the Ritschlian school is W. Herrmann (1846-1922). Because of his magnetic personality and the opportunity afforded him by his long teaching career at Marburg (since 1879), Herrmann exercised a widespread influence. Under his leadership Marburg became a veritable place of pilgrimage for students from the Anglo-Saxon countries up to the first World War. While he developed most drastically the anti-metaphysical and moralistic tendencies in Ritschl's thought, he altered, in no small degree, the anti-mystical trend in his master's theology. Herrmann's religion was more personal because of his devotion to the Person of Jesus. In this respect his religion reflects the influence of Schleiermacher and that of his teacher Tholuck. His book *The Communion of the Christian with God* (first German edition 1886, first English edition 1895) has become a theological classic.

In the great historian Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) the Ritschlian theology was moving still further to the left. The "essence of Christianity" was to him belief in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the infinite value of the human soul. This means that the view of Christianity held by the Rationalists of the eighteenth century was rehabilitated by Harnack at the beginning of the twentieth century. "Not the Son," he wrote in the first German edition of his famous *Wesen des Christentums* (1900, English 1901), "but only the Father belongs in the Gospel that Jesus preached." From this premise it was only natural that he should deny to dogma any legitimate place in Christianity. The Lutheran Reformation was for him, in many ways, a medieval phenomenon.

In contrast to Harnack, Julius Kaftan of Berlin (1849-1926) represented the Ritschlian right. While he accepted the positivistic bent of Ritschl in principle, he came very close to the doctrinal heritage of the church in many doctrines, such as the doctrine of God, and of the deity of Jesus. This mild type of Ritschlianism was represented also by T. Haering, Otto Kirn, F. Kattenbusch, and by many Lutheran pastors in Hannover who had been pupils of Ritschl at Göttingen.

A unique position must be assigned to Ritschl's son-in-law, Johannes Weiss. In his small volumes, *Die Predigt vom Reiche Gottes* (1892), he laid bare, in a very consistent manner, the eschatological thought in Jesus which had been completely pushed into the background by Ritschl. This emphasis on eschatology gave impetus to the rise of a new school, the Historico-Religious School. The newly developed method of comparative religion became in the hands of this school the implements whereby it sought to shatter the Biblical and Christo-centric foundation on which Ritschl had built. In this development the uniqueness of Christianity was abandoned in favor of "religion in general." The school had as its leaders such prominent scholars as Wellhausen, Gunkel, and Gressmann in the field of Old Testament studies, Wrede, Weinel, Heitmueller, and Bousset in the field of the New Testament, with E. Troeltsch as the unrivaled systematician. These Germans, in turn, were influenced, to some extent, by the Dutch radicals of the Leyden School: P. H. Scholten, A. Kuenen, C. P. Tiele, and P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye.

In Great Britain Ritschl found acceptance only after considerable hesitation. As a matter of fact, the followers of Ritschl (Herrmann, Harnack, etc.) were known and studied in England before the third volume of Ritschl's *opus magnum*, which contains the systematic treatment of the doctrine of justification and reconciliation, was translated into English. It was through the "sons" that the "father" of the school was recommended and introduced in Great Britain.

The first reaction of British scholars was quite unfavorable to Ritschl. His theology was critically examined by James Orr

and declared to be "radically unsound."⁷ Another critic, James Denney, struck essentially the same note.⁸ A more favorable attitude was taken by the Congregational scholar A. E. Garvie in his book, *The Ritschlian Theology, Critical and Constructive* (1899). Though never a Ritschlian himself, he has contributed much to interpret Ritschl to the Anglo-Saxon world. Two other scholars should receive attention here: the Anglican theologian J. K. Mozley with his book *Ritschlianism* (1910) and E. A. Edgehill who wrote *Faith and Facts, a Study of Ritschlianism* (1910). While both scholars were sympathetic toward Ritschl, they declined to follow him in his attempt to separate reason and faith. Faith, Edgehill asserted, must be "at once Christian and reasonable."⁹ Mozley enumerates three reasons why Ritschl did not find "a favorable hearing in England." First, "Ritschl was a German," and there always has been in England a tendency, he says, to mistrust anything German; secondly, to the Anglicans Ritschl seemed too revolutionary in doctrine and creed; and in the third place, to the Nonconformists he seemed too radical in his Biblical criticism.¹⁰ In our efforts to understand this development we must keep in mind that the rise of Ritschlianism in Germany coincided with the rise of Neo-Hegelianism in the British Isles; and in a world saturated with philosophical Idealism the basically anti-idealistic theology of Ritschl had naturally little chance of success. Those among British theologians who were open to German influence regarded Otto Pfleiderer as the theologian *par excellence* because he was the most persistent opponent of Ritschl and offered a trenchant criticism from the standpoint of Hegelian liberalism.

The British scholar who succeeded best in making Ritschl palatable to his countrymen was the late Hugh Ross Mackintosh of Edinburgh (1870-1936). He wrote a monograph on Ritschl,

7 *Ritschlianism, Expository and Critical Essays*, 1903, p. 7. He also wrote *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*, 1898. He had taken notice of Ritschl as early as 1890-91 in the Kerr Lectures, *The Christian View of God*, published 1893.

8 *Studies in Theology*, 1894.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 4 f.

Albrecht Ritschl and His School (1915), and he offers a very helpful criticism of Ritschl in his latest book, *Types of Modern Theology* (1937). Here he says that "the chief and most fruitful distinction between Ritschl's theological method and that of the majority of his immediate predecessors—liberal or mediating—is that he starts not from the 'Christian consciousness' but from the 'Gospel' given in Jesus Christ" (pp. 147 f). However, Mackintosh was far from being a full-fledged Ritschlian. He was fully aware of Ritschl's inability to do justice to the paradox character of faith. He deplores Ritschl's lack of insight into the otherness of Jesus (p. 157) and his superficial conception of divine righteousness (pp. 158 f) and sin (p. 176). "What Ritschl teaches is sober in tone, but it is seldom tinged with the wonderful feeling of the New Testament" (p. 173). In fact, that which appealed most to Mackintosh was not the pragmatism and moralism in Ritschl but the quite un-Ritschlian, Tholuckian trend in Herrmann, i. e., the emphasis on the mystical experience of forgiveness mediated through the historical Jesus.¹¹

Whatever applies to Great Britain applies to America likewise. The influence of Ritschl, in the Anglo-Saxon countries, did not succeed that of Schleiermacher and Hegel as in Germany, but made itself felt simultaneously with the earlier trend, and the result was, as Walter M. Horton observes, that "the two schools of German theology neutralized each other in the American mind, and left as their residual deposit a very moderate (?) and tolerant type of liberalism, in which the mystical emphasis of Schleiermacher and the ethical emphasis of Ritschl were both to be found, side by side."¹²

Among the first American theologians to reflect Ritschl's influence were Charles A. Briggs, who in 1893 was suspended for his "heretical" views by the Presbyterian General Assembly, and the Baptist scholar W. N. Clarke with his book, *An Outline of Christian Theology* (1898). But it was left to Henry C. King of Oberlin College to write the first Ritschlian dogmatics for

11 Cf. *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, 1927, pp. 44 ff.

12 *Realistic Theology*, 1934, p. 32.

American readers: *Reconstruction in Theology* (1901) and his subsequent volume, *Theology and the Social Consciousness* (1902). "Theology," he says in the former volume, "accepts science's own threefold restriction of itself—to experience, to the tracing of purely causal connections, and to phenomena" (p. 54), i. e. King accepts the positivistic bent of Ritschl.¹³ The quintessence of the second volume is that theology needs restatement in terms of personality. Emphasis is put throughout on the personal over against the physical or mystical. He bases his belief in the divinity of Jesus on His *character*, not on "metaphysical speculation." And of the Atonement he says that it "can get its full meaning only as it is conceived ethical *throughout*."¹⁴

The Ritschlian bias was likewise quite pronounced in George W. Knox (1853-1912) and Arthur McGiffert (1861-1933), both of Union Theological Seminary. Also Charles S. Macfarland, secretary emeritus of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, is, as he wrote in 1939, "still keeping his seat as a pupil of Ritschl."¹⁵

On the whole, however, genuine Ritschlians are rather rare in our country. The importation of Ritschl, as we said above, was simultaneous with the rise of philosophical Idealism. The mystical emphasis of Schleiermacher and the immanentism and rationalism of Hegel had a far stronger appeal for the Anglo-Saxon mind than the positivistic Biblicism of Ritschl. It was mainly the ethical emphasis for which Ritschl received a favorable hearing in America. In this respect he exercised a considerable influence on the Social Gospel though its chief theological tenet is rather

13 It is interesting to note that, in the course of his argument, King appeals to the authority of H. Lotze who was for Ritschl the interpreter of Kant.

14 *Reconstruction*, p. 182. Italics are in both instances in the original.

15 *The Christian Faith in a Day of Crisis*, p. 21. The paragraph reads as follows: "To be sure, those who, like the reviewer [Macfarland discusses the late R. H. Mackintosh's book, *Types of Modern Theology*] still keep their seats as Ritschl's pupils, can see the limitations of what Dr. Mackintosh too strongly terms his 'rationalistic moralism.' We can modify his 'historical positivism.' We may agree that he did little more than open up the problem of Revelation and History. Certain of his pupils blazed wider the trail of the pioneer. But Mackintosh is surely correct in his view that, for breadth and vigor, no theologian approached Ritschl during the last quarter of the nineteenth century."

to be sought in the Hegelian teaching of divine immanence. Yet the theology of the Chicago School, under the leadership of Shailer Matthews, G. B. Smith, Ames, and others, may be said to represent a sort of "left-wing Ritschlianism," "moving after John Dewey in the direction of a social, pragmatic, humanitarian form of Christianity."¹⁶

This historical review, though necessarily brief and incomplete, may suffice. We shall now proceed to show the influence of Ritschl on the thinking of contemporary theology.

There is, first of all, Ritschl's rejection of natural theology. God has revealed Himself, he maintained, only in the historical Jesus. Ritschl, therefore, was in principle Biblicistic and Christocentric. Nature and experience (Schleiermacher) are no sources of the Christian religion. His immediate successors, however, did not follow him in this respect. The Historico-Religious School under the leadership of Troeltsch turned back to Hegel and the older Liberalism and established itself on the principle of a "rational kernel of religion" and of a "religious *a priori* in man" as the basis of religious truths. It is no one else but Karl Barth who has rehabilitated Ritschl at this particular point. To Barth religion is based exclusively on God's revelation in Jesus. There is no such thing, at least there should be no such thing, as a natural religion.¹⁷ This thoroughly Ritschlian trend in Barth accounts for the painful breach between Barth and his former associates, Gogarten and Brunner. It also caused a regrettable split among the confessional theologians opposing the Nazi ideology in the church. In the view of the Lutheran *Bekenntniskirche* the family, nation, and state are rooted in a divine order (*Schoepfungsordnung*). The Lutherans, therefore, were inclined to look at the national rebirth of Germany in 1933 as a manifestation of the providential grace of God. Barth and his followers in the *Bekennende Kirche* branded this view as heretical. According to them God is known only in Jesus; He does not become knowable in

16 W. M. Horton, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

17 Cf. Barth's Gifford Lectures on natural theology, *The Knowledge of God and the Service of God according to the Teaching of the Reformation*, published 1939.

history or nature. This attitude of Barth resulted in a growing estrangement between the Lutherans, such as Marahrens, Wurm, Meiser, and Sasse, on the one hand, and the Barthians (Niemoeller, Asmussen, Gollwitzer) on the other. As a matter of fact, it frustrated the efforts of the late Wilhelm Zoellner to establish a united confessional front against the rising tide of paganism and semi-paganism in Germany. This Ritschlian *Ansatz* in Barth likewise accounts for the fact that, in spite of the sensation which he has created in the Anglo-Saxon world, there are very few scholars in England and America who are full-fledged Barthians. A world saturated with the doctrine of divine immanence is, naturally, no fertile ground for a theology which is in principle historical and Christo-centric. Nevertheless, Barth had made some disciples among us: for example, John McChonnie¹⁸ and George S. Hendry¹⁹ of Great Britain and Elmer G. Homrighousen of Princeton and Edwin Lewis of Drew Theological Seminary.²⁰

A Christo-centric theology must have a high regard for the Bible. Ritschl professed to be a Bible student. As to the critical problems of the Scriptures he was always rather conservative or, as Kattenbusch puts it, he remained in this respect rather "naive."²¹ He was convinced that we have in the New Testament a reliable picture of the historical Jesus. Then came the cruel attacks upon the Bible by the men of the Historico-Religious School, which left scholars in a state of bewilderment as to the real character of the life of Jesus. In some extreme cases the historical existence of Jesus was denied altogether. Little wonder that Barth, who is writing on this side of that critical radicalism, seems to have, at this point, more in common with Heitmueller than with Ritschl. To bring the two divergent principles, the Christo-centric and the critical, into harmony, Barth accepted the radical distinction between time and eternity. The centre of theology, according to him, is Christ (the super-historical), not Jesus (the historical). *Finitum*

18 *The Significance of Karl Barth*, 1930.

19 *God the Creator*, 1937.

20 Cf. the startling articles in *The Christian Century*, "How My Mind Has Changed," beginning with January 1939.

21 *Die deutsche evangelische Theologie seit Schleiermacher*, 5th edition, 1926, p. 66.

non est capax infiniti. From this follows that as a collection of books the Bible is on the same level with other religious literature of antiquity. This was Barth's position at the time when he published the famous second edition of his *Römerbrief* (1921). He has now moved a considerable distance away from that radically dialectic type of theology. In his later writings there are statements which flatly contradict the theology of the revised *Römerbrief*.²²

If the Christo-centric principle is pushed to the extreme it will inevitably become detrimental to the church's view of the Old Testament. This danger remained latent in Ritschl, but became quite apparent in Harnack. In the theology of Hirsch of Göttingen we find it fully developed, and it has now reached its climax in the violent agitation against the Old Testament of "Reichsbischof" Mueller and his German Christian followers. We are, of course, aware of the fact that the German Christians are not inspired by a narrow Christo-centric principle, but rather by an entirely un-Ritschlian assumption of a natural theology. But as to the practical results, Hirsch and Mueller are moving in the company of Ritschl and Harnack.²³ Barth, on the other hand, has tried to avoid this danger by practically identifying, after the fashion of Reformed theology, the Old and New Testaments, Law and Gospel.²⁴

Next we turn to Ritschl's distinction between *Seinsurteil* and *Werturteil*. Upon the Neo-Kantian ground of this distinction he eliminated the metaphysical from theology. Neo-Kantianism is in principle agnostic. The metaphysical is the unknowable. The test of truth is to be sought in its practical consequences. This philosophy gave to our country C. S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey, and the humanistic theology of the Chicago School. To Ames, for example, "God is life, actual, and potential, a process, ever becoming, changing and permanent, novel and familiar."²⁵

22 Cf., for example, the following statement from the Gifford Lectures, as referred to, "Eternity is here (in the stable and on the cross) in time" (p. 78).

23 See Harnack's *Marcion*, 1921, p. 243.

24 Cf. the criticism of H. Sasse in *Here We Stand*, tr. by T. G. Tappert, 1938, pp. 112, 159 ff.

25 *The Christian Century*, March 22, 1939.

Side by side with the Marburg School there arose in Germany another branch of Neo-Kantianism, the *Wertphilosophie* of the Heidelberg School with Heinrich Rickert as its leader. Here we should also mention the late German-American scholar Hugo Muensterberg who died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1916.²⁶ According to the *Wertphilosophie*, values are not merely illusionary subjective entities. There exists an ideal world of values independent of its being known and appreciated by us. This metaphysical reality is apprehended not by pure thinking, but rather by appraising. Rickert is to some extent influenced by the great Dane, Soeren Kierkegaard, and by the French philosopher H. Bergson, to whom "to live is more than merely to think." In this modified form Ritschl's emphasis on value has gained momentum in the new theology. It lies at the basis of the dialectic theology; its premises are shared by the Neo-Lutherans of Germany (K. Heim, P. Althaus, etc.) and the theologians of Lund, Sweden. To think as a Christian, they hold, is to think "existentially." It involves a personal commitment. To know God, according to the Bible, is to know Him "existentially."²⁷ Theology, therefore, is not, as in Greek intellectualism, a study of defining the essence of God, nor should it attempt rationally to control the object of its investigation. The theologian is not a speculative philosopher. To know God is not to know Him in His invisible nature, but to know His *beneficia*, as Melanchthon says in his *Loci*.²⁸

For a classical example of existential thinking we may refer to Althaus' *Letzte Dinge* (4th edition, 1933).²⁹ Faith, according to Althaus, is interested neither in the historical details of Genesis 1-3, nor in the book of Revelation as an outline of future history. The Biblical accounts concerning the first and last things must be

26 See his book, *The Eternal Values*, 1909.

27 Cf. the article on *gignosko* in Kittel's *Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, I, 688 ff.

28 Cf. Luther's opposition to a speculative theology (*theologia gloriae*), for example, his famous Heidelberg theses (Weimar edition, I, 350 ff; Erlangen edition, *op. lat.* I, 383 ff). Be it kept in mind that Luther was a pupil of Occam, who resembles, in many ways, Soeren Kierkegaard.

29 Cf. our article in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, April 1938, especially pp. 178 f.

interpreted "existentially" as a word of human guilt and divine grace. Althaus does not hold to a double truth, as is the case with the German philosopher Jakobi and Sir Walter Hamilton. Nor was Ritschl guilty of such an offense. Althaus consistently emphasizes that in the Bible we have the truth in "earthen vessels." The Scriptures do not give us any information as to the "ages of rocks," but they are *dynamis theou* (power of God) to bring us to the "Rock of Ages." The Neo-Lutherans, therefore, are no apologists in the older meaning of the term. They do not write books on Christian Apologetics as our own L. Keyser of Springfield who fought a noble but losing battle against the encroachment of natural science and historical criticism on religion.³⁰ It seems that the United Lutheran Church has moved away from the "pure thinking" of the older Orthodoxy towards an appreciation—as we hope—of existential thinking and not towards a Neo-Kantian agnosticism. But the older type of Orthodoxy is by no means dead in America. It is a vital force in American Fundamentalism as well as in some Lutheran bodies. We, therefore, feel that all negotiations for Lutheran unity will fail so long as the other Lutheran bodies continue to reject in principle the existential interpretation of Scriptures. To a theologian thinking existentially, a Lutheran is one who confesses God to be the maker of heaven and earth to whom every human being is responsible, and who says with Luther: "I believe that Jesus Christ has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature." But to the Missouri Synod, for instance, belief in God involves the intellectual agreement that He has created the world in the "manner" stated in Genesis, i. e. within six days of twenty-four hours each and that sin came into the world "as described in Genesis 3."³¹ To the former unity of

30 Everything historical is relative, for history means change and development. God became flesh, i. e. He became a part of history. The crucial problem then is: to what extent did the Incarnation (also Inspiration) involve God in the relative character of time and space? If everything historical is incomplete, how then was the Man Jesus "omniscient" in every detail? how can the Scriptures be "errorless"?

31 Cf. the *Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Position of the Missouri Synod*. Concerning creation the Brief Statement adds: "We reject every doctrine which denies or limits the work of creation as taught in Scripture. In our days it is denied or limited by those who assert, ostensibly in deference to science, that the whole

faith means primarily fellowship of those who have experienced the saving grace of God in Christ Jesus, to the latter it means above all agreement in the intellectual apprehension of doctrine. There is no *via media* between these two views. Consequently no committee will ever succeed in establishing Lutheran unity unless the one party is willing to surrender its premises in favor of the other, or rather in favor of the truth.

The theology under discussion sometimes goes under the name of "Neo-Supernaturalism" because it holds fast to the religious interpretation of sin and grace as found in the older Orthodoxy while, on the other hand, it tries to disentangle God from the intricacies of the historical process. This is the position to which men like Reinhold Niebuhr and Walter M. Horton have been moving. Wrote Niebuhr in *The Christian Century* (April 26, 1939): "Yet from the standpoint of mere history the final story about this Jesus is that He was crucified. That he was raised from the dead and will come again in glory—that faith belongs to another dimension which is beyond history, and yet without which history would be either meaningless or filled with tragic meaning only." And Horton re-emphasized in *The Christian Century* (May 17, 1939), what he had said in his book, *Realistic Theology* (1934): "Old phrases like 'the wrath of God,' 'original sin,' 'perdition and judgment,' come alive as I follow current events and try to understand the European crisis. Because of this attitude there is hope that the unfortunate warfare between the Biblical foundation of the Fundamentalists and the scientific temper of the Modernists may cease. What the Modernists need, and that very badly, is the Gospel of the Fundamentalists, and *vice versa*."³²

As an outstanding British representative we may mention the Archbishop of York, William Temple. In his younger days

world came into existence through a process of evolution; that is, that it has, in immense periods of time, developed more or less out of itself." These sentences imply a confusion of two different principles, of evolution as a descriptive form of nature and of evolution as a causal force inherent in nature. It goes without saying that Christian theology cannot subscribe to the latter, whereas we can see no reason why the church should oppose, or even can deny, within certain limits, the validity of the former.

32 Cf. George W. Richards, *Beyond Fundamentalism and Modernism*, 1934.

he was an adherent of the Idealistic tradition in British thought, i. e. he held to the principle that objects have no being apart from their being known. This was his position when he wrote *Mens Creatrix* (1917). Since that time he has been moving toward a realistic conception of the universe. Upon this new background he offers this significant criticism of Ritschl: "This Ritschlianism is (in our view) right in so far as it contends that all religious doctrines are value-judgments, but it is wrong, and even hopelessly wrong, in so far as it regards these as other than metaphysical and ontological judgments."³³ With this in mind a Lutheran will read with appreciation his discussion of the Real Presence. He conceives of the Real Presence in terms not of Transubstantiation or Consubstantiation but as Transvaluation or Convaluation. The "thing signified" is neither the human body of Christ in its physico-chemical substance, nor the risen and glorified body. "That Bread is not in itself the Glorified Body of the Lord, but it is the Body of the Glorified Lord, because it is the 'instrument' by which the Lord is accessible to the communicant."³⁴ This view of the high Anglican churchman is, in all essentials, the same as that of the Lutheran scholar P. Althaus as set forth in his little book, *Die lutherische Abendmahlslehre in der Gegenwart* (1929).

A brief word about the Lundensian theology should be added here. Among its foremost leaders are Gustaf Aulén and Anders Nygren. While Nels F. S. Ferré³⁵ has given us a critical analysis of Lundensian thought, several of its important writings are now available in English (and German). The Lundensians are "Neo-Supernaturalists" in the same way as Althaus and Niebuhr. Lundensian theology, in the words of Ferré, is a "return from all relativism to the absolute assurance of religion, but not to the Biblical literalism of the past" (p. 29). Faith, they hold, must be respected "in its claim to be an independent and unique category" supplying its own self-originated material as well as its own principle of interpretation. The Neo-Kantian restriction of knowledge to

33 *Christ the Truth*, p. 17.

34 *Op. cit.*, p. 279 ff.

35 *Swedish Contributions to Modern Theology*, 1939.

phenomena had found in Sweden its greatest exponent in the philosophy of Axel Haegerstroem. With him the Lundensians are agreed that all knowledge is descriptive and that no science is ever normative. In the same manner, the object of theology is to be derived objectively from history. Theology must follow a "typological, non-normative" analysis of the object to be investigated. In this way the Lundensians arrive at what they call the *motive-forskningen*. They have applied this principle mainly to three problems: that of the concept of God,³⁶ of soteriology,³⁷ and of eschatology.³⁸ In no mistaken terms they reject the moralistic interpretation of Christianity. God is to Aulén "sovereign love." There is only one way for man to God and that is God's way to man and never man's way to God. The Gospel is, in the eyes of Nygren, not what Harnack held it to be. It is not a judgment "on what man is like, but on what God is like" (I, 52). Thus the Lundensian theology represents another serious attempt to return to the New Testament and Luther.

So far we have discussed the philosophical premises and the general religious conception of Christianity as held by Ritschl and modern contemporary theologians. When we come to the specific doctrines of the church, we may be rather brief, for, in this respect, Ritschl was less original. While he attempted to tear down the theological structure of Schleiermacher and Hegel and to lay a new foundation, he nevertheless used many a piece of old lumber for the construction of his own system. In his thought, as in Schleiermacher's, the Kingdom of God was the dominating dogmatic idea. He gave it, after the fashion of Kant, a thoroughly moralistic treatment. This gave to his theology a eudaemonistic character. In this respect the men of the Social Gospel in America are genuine pupils of Ritschl. Compare, for example, W. Rauschenbusch: "The Kingdom of God is humanity organized according to the will of God." "It is the Christian transfiguration

36 G. Aulén, *Den kristna gudsbilden*, 1927; German, *Das christliche Gottesbild*, 1930.

37 G. Aulén, *Den kristna foersoningstanken*, 1930; English, *Christus Victor*, 1931; A. Nygren, *Eros och agape*, 2 vols. 1930 ff; English, *Eros and Agape*, 3 vols. 1932 ff.

38 F. Holstroem, *Det eskatologiska motivet i nutida teologi*, 1933; German, *Das eschatologische Denken der Gegenwart*, 1936.

of the social order.”³⁹ In agreement with this idea of the Kingdom, Ritschl conceived of the atonement as ethical throughout. It would mean to carry water into the Mississippi if we were to spend time in proving how this interpretation of the Saviour’s life has found favor with theologians everywhere in the church. While evangelical piety must oppose this Ritschlian trend in modern scholars, conservative theologians, likewise, have moved away from what the Germans call the *dingliche* concept of the atonement in traditional orthodoxy. We have redemption, as many conservatives teach today, not through the physical blood of Jesus, but through the shedding of His blood in obedience with the Father’s will (value versus pure being). In the same manner the corporate conception of sin, as held by Schleiermacher and Ritschl, has received a wide hearing in modern thought. It rendered at least one great service to orthodox theology: it helped to overcome the limitations of a too individualistic understanding of soteriology as found among its exponents. Althaus, for instance, gives very serious consideration to Ritschl at this point.⁴⁰ In passing, we may remark that Ritschl’s persistent rejection of historical Pietism with its narrow ascetic ideals has gained new momentum in Karl Barth. The ethics of the Neo-Lutherans, likewise, is less ascetic than in the older Pietism. It lays greater stress on the Christian’s responsibility toward the “world” (nation, community, etc.).

In conclusion we repeat: Ritschl has rendered theology a great service by showing a way out of the awkward dilemma which seemed to compel it to choose between the religion of the New Testament, on the one hand, and modern science on the other. In this respect his theology deserves our careful consideration. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that he has done great harm to Christianity through his moralistic presentation of the Gospel. In this respect a Lutheran will reject him. The future of theology lies in a wholesome synthesis between the faith of the Reformation and the scientific temper of our time.

39 *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, 1918, pp. 142, 145.

40 See also A. Koeberle, *The Quest for Holiness*, 1936, pp. 137 ff.

HUMANITARIANISM AND INNER MISSIONS

WILLARD D. ALLBECK

Springfield, Ohio

ANNUALLY in our more populous centers solicitation is made for financial aid to the Community or Chest Fund. Typical of the slogans used is the phrase "Mobilizing for Human Needs." In this as in other pithy slogans the appeal is to humanitarian impulses. That is to be expected; for the common denominator of helpful motives in the motley general public is humanitarian. But when our Inner Mission agencies and institutions make their appeal for support on this same basis, the members of our congregations ask questions, the answers to which are not without embarrassment. When deaconesses are headlined in church journals as "specialists in human helpfulness" there arises the suspicion that humanitarianism and Inner Missions are not being distinguished with sufficient clarity.

Let us ask several questions, and then see what we may find toward at least a partial answer. With reference to humanitarianism on the one hand and Christian (evangelical) works of mercy on the other, what are the distinctive characteristics of each? What are the contributions of each? What is the meaning of these findings for Inner Missions? Is what we have here simply another instance of Hegelian dialectic—Gospel thesis, humanitarian antithesis, Inner Mission synthesis?

If characteristics are compared, it becomes obvious at once that humanitarianism and evangelicalism represent two distinct, though not necessarily incompatible, viewpoints. It is, of course, well known that humanitarians have often regarded religion with indifference or hostility, while churchmen have considered humanitarianism to be mere sentimentality. Humanitarianism grows out of humanism and the confidence in man's ability and worth; evangelical religion, concerned almost exclusively with spiritual mat-

ters, notes man's inability to save himself from sin, and therefore accepts the doctrine of God's grace. The former tends to be optimistic, even utopian; the latter is realistic, with a tendency to regard the temporal order with pessimism. The former is this-worldly, the latter is other-worldly. Humanitarianism is likely to regard social betterment as the aim and essence of religion. The evangelical viewpoint regards social betterment as being not religious at all, but as being in the realm of civil righteousness. The humanitarian appeal is on the basis of human rights and human pity. The appeal of evangelism rests on Christian love as a reflection and product of God's love. The evangelical viewpoint is as old as the Christian era, while "humanitarianism," as Hastings' *Encyclopedia* observes, "is a modern product, for it was not until the eighteenth century that there began to be any widespread recognition of humaneness as a force in civilized society." (Article on "Humanitarianism.")

Humanitarianism is expressed characteristically in the phrase, "the rights of man." American thought was influenced in this matter by certain European liberals, among whom was Thomas Paine. In his treatise, *The Rights of Man*, he declared: "Every history of creation and every traditionary account, whether from the lettered or unlettered world, however they may vary in their opinion or belief of certain particulars, all agree in establishing one point, *the unity of man*; by which I mean that man is all of one degree, and consequently that all men are born equal and with equal natural rights."¹ Thus he was able in his *Age of Reason* to draw the humanitarian conclusion "that seeing, as we daily do, the goodness of God to all men, it is an example calling upon all men to practice the same toward each other; and, consequently, that everything of persecution and revenge between man and man, and everything of cruelty to animals, is a violation of moral duty."²

Human rights are asserted in the famous phrases of the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson's sentence, as amended by Adams and Franklin, declares "that all men are created equal,

1 *The Political Works of Thomas Paine*, 1879, p. 262.

2 *Life and Writings of Thomas Paine*, D. E. Wheeler, editor, 1908, p. 99.

that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Typical also of Franklin's sentiments is a sentence from a letter of his to David Hartley in 1789 in which he wrote, "God grant, that not only the love of liberty, but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man, may pervade all the nations of the earth."³ It is to be expected, therefore, that he would advance humanitarian reasons for relieving the suffering of Americans held as prisoners of war by the British. Thus he wrote to Lord Stormont in 1777, "For the sake of humanity it is to be wished that men would endeavor to alleviate, as much as possible, the unavoidable miseries attending a state of war."⁴

Liberal thought in religion expressed itself in similar terms. William Ellery Channing, speaking in 1841, declared: "The grand idea of humanity, of the importance of man as man, is spreading silently but surely."⁵ Channing understood this to mean both the equality of men before the law and the equality of men before God. Thus he could say, "One of the great distinctions of our times is found in the more clear and vital perception of the truth that the universal, impartial love which is the glory of God is the characteristic spirit and glory of Christianity. To this we owe the extension of philanthropic and religious effort beyond all former experience."⁶

Ralph Waldo Emerson was enough of an aristocrat, believing that worthy men are those who are honorable, virtuous, and cultivated, that he could say, "The worst of charity is that the lives you are asked to preserve are not worth preserving."⁷ Yet in his address on "Emancipation in the British West Indies," he spoke of pro-slavery advocates as "enemies of the human race."⁸ And in a speech at the second annual meeting of the Free Religious

3 *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, by Jared Sparks, 1844, Vol. X, p. 411.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 167.

5 *The Works of William E. Channing, D.D.* (Boston: 1875), p. 160.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 164.

7 *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Current Opinion Edition (New York: 1923), Vol. VI, p. 249.

8 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 146.

Association, he declared: "It is the praise of our New Testament that its teachings go to the honor and benefit of humanity."⁹ Expressions such as these were typical of the influential voices heard prior to the middle of the nineteenth century in America.

Inherent in this view is the idea that from suffering, which is essentially an evil, man has a right to be delivered simply because he is a man. E. T. Devine, in his book, *American Social Work in the Twentieth Century*, makes the observation that "in America there has always been a tacit assumption that any kind of misfortune which threatens life or physical well-being should be provided for."¹⁰ Some have gone beyond this to affirm an obligation to alleviate pain in all sentient creatures. Thus arose the humane movement. William J. Shultz indeed declares that "the history of American protest in word and act against cruelty to animals and to juveniles began in colonial days."¹¹ One of the earliest legal enactments in this direction was the New York law of 1829: "Every person who shall maliciously kill, maim, or wound any horse, ox or other cattle, or any sheep belonging to another, or shall maliciously and cruelly beat or torture any such animal, whether belonging to himself or another, shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor."¹² Yet it was not until 1866 that the first American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was organized, the founder being Henry Bergh, who also helped organize the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1874.¹³

The humanitarians seem to regard suffering as being essentially a physical fact relatively unrelated to moral antecedents. The moral qualities seen are not those connected with the sufferer's previous acts, but those associated with the relief of suffering. In contrast, the Christian's attitude will at times seem to be un-

9 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 489.

10 Edward Thomas Devine, *American Social Work in the Twentieth Century* (Buffalo, 1921), p. 3.

11 Wm. J. Shultz, *The Humane Movement in the United States, 1910-1922*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law (New York: 1924), p. 11.

12 Quoted by Shultz, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

13 Roswell C. McCrea, *The Humane Movement* (New York: 1910), pp. 10, 11, 135.

feeling or Pharisaical. To him much, if not all, human suffering is something of an ethical judgment, or is capable of moral consequences. Moreover his motive for performing merciful deeds is fundamentally different from that of humaneness or social betterment. Anyone familiar with Nygren's penetrating work, *Agape and Eros*, is immediately aware of the chasm between the Christian's love and humanitarianism.

With such comparisons in mind, we turn next to the contribution made by Christian works of mercy. If one looks into history for the origin and rise of beneficent activity, the discovery is made that Christianity furnished the original incentive and example. The long history of Christian works of mercy, however small in comparison with present-day charity, shows them to have been conspicuous in the centuries of otherwise unrelieved cruelty. A religion that transcended the distinctions of Greek and barbarian, of bond and free, tended to remove the artificial barriers of race and class. When all other influences inclined men to hardness or brutality, Christianity tirelessly preached love. Those who accepted this preaching most genuinely were those who gave the world the finest example of charity. Warner correctly estimates the religious influence when he says, "The commonest and most powerful incentive to benevolence has been everywhere and at all times supplied by religion."¹⁴ Even in this humanitarian era of the last two centuries Christianity has often furnished both the leadership and the sustaining motivation. Without Christianity the humanitarian movement tends to revert to less worthy levels; it degenerates into economic aims and political purposes.

The story of Inner Missions in Germany has often been told. It is the story of Fliedner, Wichern, and others. But look at the record of Christian works of mercy in our own land. The record made by the churches is impressive, not so much for its size as for its originality and variety. According to Homer Folks, "The first orphan asylum in the country was that attached to the Ursuline convent in New Orleans. . . . The frightful massacre by the Natchez Indians in 1729 left many orphans in and near New

14 Amos G. Warner, *American Charities* (New York: 1922), 3rd edition, p. 4.

Orleans, and the convent established an asylum for their care."¹⁵ Mr. Folks published a list of seventy-seven institutions for children established before 1851. Twenty-one of these institutions were under Roman Catholic auspices, far surpassing any other church.¹⁶

The Episcopalians also founded institutions at an early date, St. Paul's orphanage, Baltimore, in 1799 being the first. Benevolent work in the Protestant Episcopal Church received a strong impulse from the activity of Dr. William A. Muhlenberg. In connection with his parish work in New York he started the Fresh Air Movement for the city's poor, a church infirmary which led to the establishment of St. Luke's hospital, and in 1843 a sisterhood or order of deaconesses. His example was followed elsewhere in the Episcopal Church.

Methodist annals tell of the Bethesda orphan house near Savannah, Georgia, built in 1740 by George Whitefield with the encouragement of Governor Oglethorp and Charles Wesley.¹⁷ Charitable work had a very considerable growth in this and other denominations. The development through the years is so astonishing that the government's census in 1904 could report the existence of 1,363 ecclesiastical benevolent institutions maintained at a cost of \$15,150,576. Of these, 478 were orphanages, and 442 were hospitals.¹⁸

It will be of interest to outline in two paragraphs the Lutheran record in America. The first institution was the orphanage of the Salzburgers in Georgia. The building was erected in 1737, and the first inmates—three boys and eight girls—entered in January, 1738. Muhlenberg hoped to establish an orphanage near Philadelphia, but was disappointed in this, the Germantown home not being founded until 1859. Through the work of societies of Lutherans or by individual effort institutions sprang up here and there in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The work of Dr. W. A. Passavant has been much celebrated, particularly

15 Homer Folks, *The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children* (New York: 1902), p. 9.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 52 ff, 60.

17 Eric M. North, *Early Methodist Philanthropy*, 1914, p. 92.

18 *Benevolent Institutions*, U. S. Government Census, 1904, pp. 12, 19, 26, 32.

his orphanages, the first being founded in 1852 and now located in Zelienople, Pa., and his hospitals, beginning with the one in Pittsburgh in 1849.

In a growing number of instances the institutions were founded and supported by synods. By the end of the century most of the Scandinavian, German, and English Lutheran bodies in America had a number of institutions of mercy connected with them or supported by their membership. After 1860 until the World War there was a Lutheran orphanage founded almost every year, and after 1880 the same could be said for Lutheran hospitals. There were few Lutheran homes for the aged before 1890, but for three decades thereafter they came into existence on the average of two a year. City missions and Inner Mission societies have had their growth in the present century, being organized at the rate of three every four years. The establishing of new Lutheran orphanages, homes for the aged, and hospitals has virtually ceased at this time, but the growth of Inner Mission societies continues vigorously.

Turning now to the contribution which humanitarianism has made, attention must first be called to evidences of public charity. In America these evidences appear in the colonial period. Since for the greater part of their history the colonial governments were English, one is prepared to find that the English colonists continued the practices and laws they had known in England, particularly the poor law enacted in 1601 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the colony each town or township was responsible for its own poor. For example, in Rhode Island the following declaration of 1647 is recorded: "We do joyntlie agree in this present Assemblie to make or produce such Lawes as concerne provision for the poore, so that the impotent shall be maintayned and the able employed."¹⁹ In the jurisdiction of New York, after that area had been taken from the Dutch, the "Duke of Yorke's Laws" were in effect, providing that there should be eight over-

19 Quoted from Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, by Margaret Creech in *Three Centuries of Poor Law Administration* (Chicago: 1936).

seers among whose duties was the care of "distracted persons" and others "whose condition may prove of publique concerne."²⁰ In 1682 the assembly called by William Penn enacted, among others, a law requiring the justices of the peace and the county courts to provide for the support of persons in poverty. This law in 1705 was superseded by one more comprehensive. Money for poor relief was to be raised by county levies.²¹

Without tracing the development of subsequent decades in detail, it is enough to observe that in general the state was obliged to make provision for such classes as were not cared for by private charity. In many places, however, there were non-sectarian societies providing relief, such as the Association for the Improvement of the Poor. The humanitarian spirit of the age showed itself in many organizations, such as home-finding societies, news-boys' clubs, fresh-air societies, etc.

The so-called "Community Fund" of our day is an evidence of the effort, begun in the latter part of the last century, to bring system, central organization, investigation of cases, and other efficient procedures into the administration of charity. "It was the industrial depression following the commercial crisis which began in the autumn of 1873, throwing multitudes out of work and making a heavy draft upon the benevolent,"²² which furnished the occasion for community charity organization. The first one was in Germantown, Pa. Others followed in rapid order. By 1882 there were twenty-two such organizations. The leadership often was furnished by a minister or a church society.

The century closed not only with greater efficiency in the work and administration of charity, but also with a developing interest in preventive philanthropy, e. g., play grounds, parks, societies to encourage thrift, etc. In the present century the movement has broadened to include an interest in public health, the prevention of disease, the prosecution of loan sharks, diminishing

20 See William C. Heffner, *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Pennsylvania* (Cleona, Pa.: 1913), p. 26.

21 Heffner, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.

22 Charles D. Kellog, "History of Charity Organization in the United States," *Proceedings*, National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1893, p. 54.

child labor, industrial education, the improvement of the negro, the improvement of housing, and research on the causes of poverty and crime. Enormous sums of money have been made available for these purposes, formerly by individuals, and more recently by the government. When Stephen Girard died in 1831, he left about \$6,000,000 to establish a school for orphans. Since that time, the monies provided by wealthy persons for endowments and foundations have reached a staggering total. The number of foundations has greatly increased in recent years. The one hundred such foundations studied by E. C. Lindeman spent almost seventy-five million dollars for social welfare during the years 1921-1930.²³

It becomes evident that humanitarian influence broadened the scope of charitable endeavor, making it co-extensive with the political area rather than confined to the religious community. Hence the scale of such activity was enlarged and the financial support greatly increased. Fresh areas of charitable interest were entered. Efficiency and skill in social work were developed. It came to be recognized even in governmental circles that social service was clearly in the interest of the common good.

There is no denying the fact that humanitarianism was advocated by men who were liberals, even radicals, in political and religious thought. But humanitarian views were adapted to use in the conservative churches by persons of warm evangelical zeal and with minds open to suggestions from liberal sources. John Wesley grew up in the midst of deism, Fliedner had been rationalistic, Passavant advocated revivalism. Yet it was the evangelical dynamic which was the chief characteristic of their lives.

Humanitarianism simply pointed the directions in which Christian charity might express itself; and these expressions of Christian love, once begun, were accepted even by the most conservative. Emerson called attention to the humanitarian influence in the religious life of his day when he said, "The churches already

23 Eduard C. Lindeman, *Wealth and Culture* (New York: 1936), p. 31.

indicate the new spirit in adding to the perennial office of teaching beneficent activities—as in creating hospitals, ragged schools, offices of employment for the poor, appointing almoners to the helpless, guardians of foundlings and orphans. The power that in other times inspired crusades, or the colonization of New England, or the modern revivals, flies to the help of the deaf-mute and the blind, to the education of the sailor and the vagabond boy, to the reform of convicts and harlots.”²⁴

Having thus reviewed the contribution of the church and of humanitarianism, we are ready to note the significance for Inner Missions. It has already been observed that certain definite interrelations have existed. As we survey the vast and impressive extent of humanitarian activity in the last century, involving as it did areas coextensive with that of the Lutheran Church, and expressing itself so prominently in public considerations, it is impossible to draw any other conclusion than that there was more or less extensive interaction between humanitarianism and evangelism.

Professor Edward Pfeiffer, in his book *Mission Studies*, noted that “the work of inner missions as inaugurated in Germany about the middle of the nineteenth century received its earliest impulses from similar movements in England that had been started earlier and flourished more freely. This is true of the missionary societies, the Bible and tract societies, the Sunday Schools, prison reforms and city missions.”²⁵ This is as much as Professor Pfeiffer has to say on this matter, but it is sufficient to show that he recognized the mixture of influences affecting Inner Mission work. What was the nature of these English activities to which he refers? It will be worth our while to glance at a few of them.

Let us take the matter of prison reform, in which Wichern and Fliedner also were interested. The name which first comes to mind is that of John Howard (1726-1790), a figure in the political life of England in the century preceding the rise of Inner

24 *Op. cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 117 f.

25 Published by Lutheran Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio, 1908, p. 209.

Missions. Shocked by the treatment of prisoners in England, he made it his business to visit prisons in all parts of his nation as well as in many places on the continent. He published his observations in 1777 in a book entitled *The State of the Prisons*.

Three years before the publication of this book, John Howard had been requested to appear before a committee of the House of Commons to testify concerning the need of reform. Commons both recognized his "humanity and zeal" and enacted two measures correcting prison evils.²⁶ In reviewing his own work, John Howard could write: "To God alone be all praise! I do not regret the loss of many conveniences of life, but bless God who inclined my mind to such a scheme."²⁷ Yet they were not so much evangelical as humanitarian motives that animated him. He declared: "To reform prisoners . . . should always be the leading view in every house of correction; . . . as *rational* and *immortal* beings we owe this to them; nor can any criminality of theirs justify our neglect in this particular."²⁸

If John Howard's prison reform is to be looked upon as a humanitarian movement tinged with religion, the Wesleyan societies of the same period must be regarded as an evangelical movement containing humanitarian impulses. Bishop McConnell calls attention to the fact "that the Methodists in London in ten years contributed fifteen thousand pounds to their own poor. This would be seventy-five thousand dollars in our American money and would probably be worth, to the people who gave it, three times as much as it would be to us today."²⁹ This author declares that "Wesley was fearless and unsparing in bringing to the public the distresses of the poor and insistent in his urgency for their relief."³⁰

Let us turn from the problem of poverty to that of slavery, from John Wesley to William Wilberforce (1759-1833). We

26 Article, "John Howard," in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

27 John Howard, *The State of the Prisons*, Everyman's Library (New York: 1929), p. xi.

28 *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

29 Francis J. McConnell, *John Wesley*, 1939, p. 254.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 252.

may make the connection by recalling that Wesley in a letter to Wilberforce called slavery "the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature."³¹ Observe that Wesley joined considerations of religion with those of humanity. The same may be said of Wilberforce. His biographer, John Stoughton, says of him that his work for the liberation of the slaves was motivated "not merely from impulses of humanity, but from a strong sense of duty towards God."³² The life-long efforts of Wilberforce in behalf of the negro resulted in the outlawing of the slave trade by Britain in 1807 and the abolition of slavery in 1833 only a few months before Wilberforce died. It may truly be said that Wilberforce was deeply religious. Yet his benevolent attitude was shown by his variety of interests—a school in Yorkshire,³³ a library in Nova Scotia, an institution for sailors' children, vaccination, and persecuted missionaries in the Cape colony.

Wilberforce died just when Wichern and Fliedner were getting their work well under way. Two others in England, contemporaries of the Inner Mission men, deserve some notice. The first was Mrs. Elizabeth Gurney Fry (1781-1845) whose work for prison reform was known to Fliedner, and who in turn made use of Fliedner's deaconess ideas. She visited the sick, taught children, relieved need, but at the same time urged repentance and faith. When she visited prison and found the women with their children in an enclosure where confusion and filth prevailed, she set about restoring order by means of religion. Her success became famous. Though she was pleased with the improvement of prison conditions, her real zeal was for saved souls. When she opened a school for the children of women prisoners, the teacher she chose was an ex-convict converted under her ministry. Religion was joined with humanitarianism in the "Association for the Improvement of the Female Prisoners in Newgate," organized 1817, with the following aims: "To provide for the clothing, the instruction, and the employment of the women; to introduce them

31 John Stoughton, *William Wilberforce* (New York: 1880), p. 71.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

33 *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce* (Philadelphia: 1846), Vol. I, p. 179.

to a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and to form in them, as much as possible, those habits of order, sobriety, and industry, which may render them docile and peaceable whilst in prison, and respectable when they leave it."³⁴

The other contemporary referred to was the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury (1801-1885), noted for his intense interest in improving the social conditions of the working classes. He secured legislation which placed limits upon the number of hours which men might be required to work, and which corrected the worst evils connected with the employment of women and children. The work performed by children had been such that, as in the case of some factories, their bodies became deformed, or, as in the case of chimney-sweeps, their lives were endangered. He attacked the evils of the tenement houses and slums. He gathered the homeless boys of the streets into so-called Ragged Schools, encouraging the establishment of similar schools elsewhere. The London City Mission, begun in 1835, had his enthusiastic aid. It was this London City Mission to which Wichern called attention when he proposed the formation of the "Hamburg Society for the Inner Mission." Shaftesbury took an active interest in the Young Men's Christian Association begun in 1844, in working-men's institutes, in improving the methods of dealing with the insane, and in the Church Missionary Society. Shaftesbury, it will be remembered, belonged to the evangelical wing of the Church of England.

Thus humanitarianism and Christian charity have been combined in history, social welfare with the saving of souls. Inner Missions, in so far as they aim at conversion and faith, are part of the evangelizing activity of the church; in so far as they aim at social improvement and relief, they tend in a humanitarian direction. Inner Missions are the conviction of the church that social ills are in the last analysis largely problems of character and morals—that is to say, they are spiritual matters. Pauperism is something more than being penniless. The superficial observer says, "The man is a pauper because he has no money. Give him

34 *A Brief Memoir of Elizabeth Fry* (Philadelphia: 1860), p. 34.

money and he will not be a pauper." But the paradoxical lesson of history, whether of Queen Elizabeth's poor laws or of modern doles and government relief, is that gifts to the poor create more poverty than they cure. Inner Missions must be considered an attempt to cure social ills by changing lives through the power of the Gospel. This is to be done, not so much in the interest of the social order, as for the individuals in that social order. Inner Mission work is the expression of the church's dominant impulse to seek and save the lost. The history of that work is magnificent, not to say glorious.

PHILOSOPHY'S INFLUENCE ON LUTHER

HAROLD A. DUNKELBERGER

Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania

MARTIN LUTHER has rarely been given first rank as a philosopher. Some authorities unfairly favor his place among the lovers of human wisdom; others have a preconceived prejudice against him and all he thought. Impartial scholarship has sought to show that Luther was not basically interested in being either a philosopher or a systematic theologian. He sought and found his answer to his great quest for peace of soul in the Christian experience of forgiveness and salvation. More accurately, Luther appears in the role of the prophet of the New Testament evangel, just as Isaiah had appeared as a prophet of the Old Testament Torah. There are characteristics of this prophetic nature which make the individual unfit for philosophic greatness. Consistent system appears secondary aside of the truth which the prophet sees and feels. Rational verification of his message seems utterly unimportant. Paradoxes are both necessary and to be expected.

But in spite of a nature not adapted to philosophy, Luther could not escape its conditionings. The intellectual environment compelled it; philosophy was the chief interest in all the universities of his day. It is true that Luther proved allergic both to the type of philosophical instruction and to the amount of the dose he received. But in spite of his open hostility at many points, this influence was molding his thought in many vital ways. This influence we shall briefly and all too incompletely explore in this study.

It was chiefly before 1515 that philosophy and other cultural influences had their molding effect upon Luther. Further it is to this portion of the Reformer's life that modern scholars are devoting their particular attention. Henri Strohl in the introduction to his book *L'évolution religieuse de Luther jusqu'en*

1515 points out this contemporary tendency. "Sympathetic work upon Luther's younger period, upon the evolution of his piety and thought on which the newly found documents threw an unforeseen light, was taken up with a new zeal by Scheel, Holl, O. Ritschl, Koehler, Gotteschick, Schubert, Neubauer, H. Boehmer, and a number of others." To them Luther's thought was not to be seen as a static whole, but as evolving from stage to stage. The various threads, Augustinian mysticism, Renaissance humanism, and medieval Occamism, appear, fade, and reappear, sometimes alone and sometimes in a synthesis. Together they compose the interesting but puzzling pattern which we term the Reformer's philosophy.

I

Luther was first and foremost an Augustinian. But it was Augustine the Christian, not Augustine the philosopher, whom he treasured. It was in the religious experience of the Bishop of Hippo that Luther saw his own experience mirrored; and it was this experience which was the essence of all that mattered to him. But philosophically, Luther is hardly an Augustinian. The great speculative system bearing this name which dominated the first half of the Middle Ages seems quite foreign to the Reformer. It presented all knowledge and science as flowing freely from divine enlightenment (the Logoi of God at work). The power of human reason thus enlightened was to be considered boundless and unlimited. Inexhaustibility was the only limitation put upon this reason guided by faith. With this optimistic point of view, the interest came to be understanding this great intelligible structure. Salvation was simply a matter of course. This for Luther was rank heresy. For him, divine enlightenment pertained only to the saving power of grace. It had little if anything to do with scientific discoveries or artistic masterpieces. It was changing the heart and the will that was important, not enlightening the mind. Reason is in a different sphere from faith. In religious essentials, reason was "stock-, starr-, und gar blind." But this stone-blindness could exist only if reason was not enlightened, if "it did not know how to show the path which should lead from

sin and death to righteousness and life," if "it remained in the shadow of darkness."¹ All the optimism of the human intellect's attainment has vanished. In place of the monism of medieval Augustinianism which had drawn everything into the sphere of religious enlightenment Luther asserts a dualism so profound that 'never the twain shall meet.'

There is a further phase of Augustinianism in the Middle Ages apart from the realistic synthesis of the churchmen like Anselm and Bonaventure. This is the mystic strain. From Neo-Platonism, through Augustine, to the medieval mystics came a refreshing and dynamic influence. Medieval mysticism capitalized the idea which Neo-Platonism had suggested, that the highest reality can be known only as we transcend reason and discard all encumbrances of the intellect. It also incorporated the idea of God as the true and only substance. The human soul is really a portion of God, though separated from Him by the body which its sensations and the sins and appetites which there have their origin. Ascetic exercise removes the obstacles; and with body suppressed, the soul is united with God. In insisting that reality transcends reason, the mystics did not mean to convey the idea that reality is separated from the world which man can apprehend with his own effort. On the contrary, they stressed the immanence of the divine in the world.

Chiefly through Tauler and the *Theologia Germanica*, Luther felt this phase of Augustinianism. It is generally accepted that the Reformer had a high regard for German medieval mysticism. Here is one of his comments on the *Theologia Germanica*: "This little book, so poor and confused in words of human wisdom, nevertheless is so much the more costly and precious in divine power and wisdom."² Tauler receives like praise: "I have not found in Latin or German a more wholesome theology, or one more consistent with the Gospel." But in these mystics also, it was not the philosophic side that attracted Luther. He repeated many phrases of which he approved the religious sense. These same

1 *Luthers Werke* (Erlangen Auflage), Vol. LII, p. 320.

2 *Ibid.*, E.A., LXIII, p. 239.

phrases taken in a philosophic sense remain entirely Neo-Platonic. But as Mackinnon aptly remarks: "It was the experimental evangelical element in the thought rather than the speculative element underlying it that arrested him."³ His works throughout testify to the rejection of monism on which Neo-Platonic mysticism was based. For Luther, the human soul was not a part of God caught in matter; it had existence of its own. He also rejected all ascent of the soul to God through its own effort. It was a central tenet of Neo-Platonic mysticism that the soul attains union with God only after a journey of its own making. Luther asserted that God's outpoured grace was the only means of attaining that union. Finally, the intellectualism, inherent in the source (Neo-Platonism) if not in the practice of medieval mysticism, was unwelcome to the Reformer. His concern was for changing the will, not for exalting and finally transcending the intellect.

From what has been indicated it is clear that it was the Neo-Platonism, not the mysticism of that medieval synthesis that Luther rejected. He was ever drawn to the latter, and we may note its effects upon him. Mysticism conditioned Luther philosophically: (1) by asserting direct access to Supreme Reality; (2) by insisting upon individualism and the value of the subjective; (3) by suggesting the valid element in Quietism—that the Kingdom of God is within the individual heart, and there to be discovered. Each of these three influences deserves elaboration if space permitted. But we must conclude this first strand of study into the effect of philosophy on Luther with these words of summary: what the Almighty does to save mankind is in the religious sphere, and here Augustine with Paul must be our guides; what man does with his temporal existence demands the use of his practical intelligence quite separate from the Divine. Augustine is a poor guide here.

II

The second division of this study involves Renaissance Humanism's effect upon Luther. Principal Lindsay comments in

3 *Luther and the Reformation*, Vol. I, p. 219.

this connection: "He had more of the schoolman in him and less of the humanist than any other of the men who stood in the first line of leaders in the Reformation movement."⁴ But when we recall how dominant humanism was at the time of the Reformation, it is clear that it is only by comparison to other Reformers that Luther appears anti-humanistic. The universities in which he studied advocated a return to the classics. Erasmus, for a period Luther's esteemed friend, was the greatest example of Renaissance Humanism in northern Europe. Melancthon and others of the inner circle of friends seemed completely under the spell which the "neo-classics" cast.

Renaissance philosophy, dominated by humanism, was chiefly Platonic. Here and there within it appear also smatterings of Ciceronian skepticism. This philosophy seemed to have two basic purposes: (1) the destruction of all phases of medieval scholasticism; and (2) replacing the values of the Christian-Aristotelian synthesis with the values of classical Platonism. Luther cooperated heartily in the destructive operation; but he cared nothing about, and even opposed, the attempt to establish pagan classical values. But here we must examine a bit more closely just what the humanists were trying to do. Here we note the following: (1) In the realm of mind, an appeal from dictatorship to autonomy. This had many ramifications. It involved the discrediting of medieval curriculums of study, and medieval laws of morality. It further meant a denial of the final authority of the church, and emphasized the power of the individual mind and conscience to discover the eternal laws of "beauty, goodness, and truth." (2) In the objective outworking of mind, a turn from interest in science and metaphysics to an aesthetic emphasis upon literature and art. (3) In the religious sphere, the turn from medieval theologians to the authority of original sources, i. e. the Bible and the Apostolic Fathers, and the insistence on individual freedom in religious beliefs or disbeliefs.

Luther emphasized moral autonomy, but not for its own sake as did the humanists. Instead he emphasized it because it

4 T. M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation*, Vol. I, p. 200.

fitted his concept of faith. "Luther was at one with Erasmus in his opposition to the scholastic philosophy with its infiltration of dialectic, human philosophy and human law; but ultimately to Erasmus, Luther was the enemy of good letters; and to Luther, Erasmus was ignorant of the fundamental truths of the Bible."⁵ The Reformer was drawn particularly to the iconoclastic drive in humanism as it appealed from dictatorship to the individual conscience and taste.

Though Luther may have appeared "an enemy to good letters," at a certain stage he, too, was caught in the rush back to the ancients. "On one occasion already in the philosophical theses of the Heidelberg Disputation, we find that he interests himself in the philosophers lying back of Aristotle; he quotes sayings of Anaxagoras and of Parmenides, and raises, in opposition to Aristotle, the significance of the numbers of Pythagoras and of the ideas of Plato. Both Pythagoras and Plato he preferred to the medieval interpretation of Aristotle."⁶ But above all he had a great affection for Cicero. In every bout that Aristotle and Cicero had for Luther's preference, the latter came off the victor. "Cicero surpasses Aristotle a great deal as far as meaning is concerned." "He teaches matters that concern the highest problems, matters which Aristotle does not even treat." In a burst of enthusiasm Luther adds: "Man can learn the correct philosophy only from Cicero."⁷ However, the impression still remains that Luther is using the ancients as a wedge to pry Aristotle from his exalted place. Once he had upset and destroyed this idol, he would then have little use for the means used to accomplish this end.

Further, in relation to the objective side of humanist effort, Luther felt the value of Renaissance philosophy. He had little scientific interest; the appeal to the feelings in Renaissance literature and art was more congenial to him. Thus we find him saying: "Very truly, Platonic and Ciceronian works must be en-

5 R. McKeon, "Renaissance and Method," in *Studies in Ideas*, Vol. III, p. 95.

6 F. Bahlow, *Luthers Stellung zur Philosophie*, Berlin, 1899, p. 56 f.

7 *E.A.*, LXII, p. 341.

joyed because of the beauty of their language and the superiority of their form over against the scholastic misrepresentations of bewildered Aristotelianism."⁸ This desire for the beauty of simplicity Luther cultivated by his interest in the music of his day and by the composition of some choice religious lyrics. But here again it was not as a humanist that Luther accepted these newly presented values of the Renaissance. It was not art for art's sake or beauty for beauty's sake. The arts served a more important function in religion than could science and metaphysics; and therefore they better suited a man whose religious life was central.

There are further ways in which Luther found value in Renaissance philosophy's approach to religion. But again it is the negative or iconoclastic phase which appeals to him. Medieval interpretations must be deserted for original sources, first the Bible and then the Apostolic Fathers. But once the destruction of the old authority was accomplished, the assertion of the new sources was on an entirely different plane for Luther than it was for the humanists. Erasmus saw in them "the best mirroring of man;" the Reformer found in them "the knowledge of Christ and of the grace of God."⁹

III

The final division of this brief study concerns the influence of the scholastic tradition upon the philosophic thought of the Reformer. Here we must distinguish, however, between two different schools, each with its own body of thought. There were first the followers of St. Thomas Aquinas, who were 'realistic' Aristotelians with an optimistic world view; and second the followers of William of Occam who were 'nominalistic' Aristotelians with a skeptical, though scientific, world view. When Principal Lindsay remarks that Luther was more of a schoolman than any other first rank Reformer, he associates him, no doubt, with the Occamist, not the Thomist, tradition. Luther himself seems

8 Quoted in C. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, Vol. IV, p. 152.

9 Quoted by R. McKeon, *op. cit.*

to have reserved the name 'schoolmen' chiefly for the followers of Thomas. His struggle with these schoolmen has become almost legendary. Here we must sketch a few of the philosophical problems involved in this struggle.

First, it is to be emphasized that Luther could not tolerate the constant intermingling of philosophy and theology. Thomas had asserted that man's highest good consists in contemplating God, i. e. the Truth. But this does not consist in knowledge of God by faith, for it requires the intellect's perfection. Furthermore it is not the will that can give this ultimate happiness, for faith resembles having from another rather than seeing for the self. God is truly seen by the intellect alone, so that Divine Essence is both object and medium of the vision.¹⁰ Luther reacted violently to this mixing of reason and religion. "It is of great concern to me when they mix philosophy again and again with theology," he says. Then he continues more vigorously: "Their wanting to mix it up completely with theology as if it belonged there, though it certainly does not, is not to be tolerated."¹¹ Speculators who judge according to philosophy and their own reason in divine matters, making a mixture of Holy Scriptures and their own abilities are definitely "of the devil."¹² Luther considers Thomas Aquinas as the "spring and root" of this heresy; as the "star which has fallen from heaven and either leads heathen philosophy into Christianity or has greatly contributed thereto." Thomas bears the guilt that Aristotle has attained his place, "for Aristotle is the God of the Thomists; yet in spite of Thomas there is not one of his schoolmen who understands a single chapter of Aristotle."¹³

But what was Luther's approach to this Aristotle whom the scholastics "could not understand?" Luther's appraisals vary widely at various periods of his life, and in reference to different things. Aristotle is at times a "damned heathen beast" and "arch-liar and devil;" but again he is "homo acutissimus" and "a good

10 St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, Book III, Chs. 37, 40, 51.

11 *E.A.*, Vol. LVII, p. 161.

12 *Ibid.*, Vol. LIX, p. 181; Vol. LVII, p. 223.

13 F. Bahlow, *op. cit.*, p. 28 f. Quotations from Luther's sermons of the year 1521.

and artful dialectician who used method and order in teaching."¹⁴ Very briefly here we shall consider the Reformer's approach to (a) Aristotelian metaphysics, (b) physics, and (c) ethics. Aristotle's metaphysics must be necessarily incomplete, for no revelation of God had come to him. He assigned everything to its natural cause without reference to or knowledge of the Absolute Power. He only "with the understanding seeks after God, but does not learn to love Him from the heart." Likewise the emphasis of this Greek on natural philosophy appears useless. All his comments about heaven and earth are idle and worthless since philosophers can really know neither cause nor goal here. "Philosophy just knows nothing about what has been created through the Word of God." In ethics Aristotle likewise built upon false presuppositions. The capacity of reason to know the right, and the power to do the right when thus seen, are both false assumptions. Further the goal of ethics is not happiness through harmonious moderation. A complete synthesis which will make for happiness is unattainable in this world.

But regardless of all these criticisms, Luther admitted the greatness of Aristotle in the ethico-political sphere. "Aristotle is the best teacher in the philosophy of morals, of how one should lead a fine modest earthly life."¹⁵ "Aristotle has in the noble fifth book of the Ethics a wonderful position about justness and a corresponding concept of virtue. Virtue is something conducted through free choice; what is suitable for us. The understanding determines by reason and insight the mean of appropriateness, as for example bravery stands between sudden passion or audacity and cowardice. . . . And these things were most beautifully arranged by Aristotle on the basis of proportion or the concept 'justness.' This is a grace which must find a place in the government, in the household, and in the community."¹⁶ Further the political counsels of Aristotle are correct because they do not mix up divine and human things but remain in their bounds, aiming at community honesty and public peace.

14 *Opera Latina*, Vol. III, p. 28.

15 *E.A.*, Vol. LXII, p. 262.

16 *Opera Latina*, Vol. XI, p. 121 f.

This is a rather striking example of inconsistency. But there is a reason for it. Aristotle can have a place in ethics if, and only if, ethics is not mixed up with religion. In the latter sphere he has no place at all. Now, in so far as Luther counsels following Aristotle in ethics, it is because of the profound anti-Pelagianism of his religious faith. Those of the present generation who have witnessed the futility of modern liberalism at many points can understand more clearly Luther's reason for this division.

Finally our following of threads of influence leads us to William of Occam and the school which he founded. To the present writer it seems clear that in philosophy Occamism was Luther's chief influence. We may agree with Boehmer that "his theology is something entirely different from a dried up or mollified Occamism." But at the same time "he is the disciple of Occam in the following matters: his doctrine about the laws of nature and rights of nature; the secular governments' relation to religious reform; his disparagement of jurists and jurisprudence; and above all the conviction which he maintained to his last breath that reason is entirely incapable of knowing the mysteries of faith."¹⁷ The disciples of Occam in Germany set Luther thinking. The "new" school of the day in philosophy was Occamism; and universities even in the sixteenth century had a weakness for new schools of thought. Therefore what Luther studied in university and early cloister years had to be Occam. The effect was permanent. He continued to consider the Englishman as "unquestionably the chief and keenest intellect of the schoolmen." He admits that he was a disciple of this school at one point, though he does not state whether he is still a follower at the time.¹⁸ Teachers like Trutvetter of Eisenach and Arnoldi of Usingen guided his pursuit of nominalist philosophy. Further Luther buried himself for a period in the very works of Occam and those of an outstanding follower, Gabriel Biel.

The first contribution which the Occamists made to Luther's thought was to make him skeptical of everything which the world

¹⁷ Denifle, *Luther und Luthertum in der ersten Entwicklung*, I, p. 609 f.

¹⁸ *E.A.*, Vol. LXII, p. 113.

offered. There is, it is true, a skeptical Augustinian philosophy and a similar note in the works of Cicero. These contributed to Luther's attitude, but the period in which skepticism had its greatest formative power in the Reformer was the university and cloister years. In this period Occam was master. Luther accepted from the Inceptor the difficulties involved in human knowledge. If we can only know particulars, always of minor importance, philosophy will be forced to take a very modest place compared to that which she had claimed for the greater part of the Middle Ages. The mighty weapon of logic lost its power. For logic can deal with nothing more than the relations between signs which have little or nothing to do with the actual structure of things. There may not even be an orderly structure of things; it may be created by the mind apart from the world. Skepticism proved a mightier weapon than logic; and the great thirteenth century philosophic systems fell before the Terminists, as the followers of Occam were called. Luther absorbed this skepticism. Writing to Spalatin he says: "I have often discussed with friends what utility seemed to us to be gained from this so sedulous study of philosophy and dialectic; and truly with one consent, having marveled at or rather bewailed the calamity of our minds, we found no utility but rather a sea of hindrance." " 'It is necessary that you despair of your study no less than of your ability, and that you have confidence only in the true influx of the spirit.' . . . Here the extreme of value is put upon uncertainty. This humble despair of all human powers is behind Luther's strictures against the scholastics for their too great confidence in reason: no reason of man can be taken as certain for the wisdom of the world is made stupid by God."¹⁹

The contribution of Occamist logic as an influence has already been suggested. It claimed to work with signs, not with things as they are. The relations it created could only be artificial, never anything more. Here is the birthplace of modern logical positivism. But the destructive power of this interpretation against medieval theologies is like a holocaust. The whole systematic structure collapses. This in Luther's opinion was all to the good.

19 R. McKeon, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-105.

"The dialectic of school theologians is benumbed with errors and is itself a real pit or slough." When asked by a correspondent to show in what places logic is necessary to theology, Luther answered that he did not think dialectic was necessary to theology in any place, since Christ has no need of human figments. But just like the Occamists, Luther attributes to logic a very important place if kept within the proper sphere. "It is a useful and notable art which one should study industriously and learn like arithmetic and mathematics. All shrewdness counts for nothing if it is not construed dialectically. Therefore dialectic is not to be lacking in school or in council, in lawcourt or in church management, since it is most necessary in all these fields."²⁰

The final and most important contribution of Occam to Luther was the insistence upon the separation of reason and revelation. It was because of their failure to keep the two distinct that Luther found fault with medieval Augustinians and Thomists alike. For Occam, however, "Faith's assent is not required for what is known through evidence; science does not depend on faith. Nor does faith or theology depend on 'scientia.' And since, without faith, no one can assent to those verities which are to be believed (*veritatibus credibilibus*), there is no 'scientia proprie dicta' respecting them. So the breach in the old scholastic, Thomist unity was made utter and irreparable. Theology stands on the surest of bases, but isolated, unsupported; philosophy, all human knowledge extends below it, and is discredited because irrelevant to highest truth."²¹ This is the separation which Luther insisted upon. He asserted that reason is certainly a gracious gift which is necessary for existence in the world. It is in command, however, of only purely temporal things. Further it cannot go than showing people how they should control themselves and how they should lead honorable lives in this transitory existence. "In all these things it is a fair light; over against this in divine things it is stone blind and boorish and is not able to indicate a hair-breadth of what these matters really are, or how one pleases God and is saved."²²

20 *E.A.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 301 ff.

21 Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, Vol. II, pp. 549-550.

22 *E.A.*, Vol. VII, p. 335 f.

But in spite of these influences, it does not follow that Luther really understood Occam. This he really did not. The chief interests and emphases of the two men were far apart. Occam was primarily a scientist; Luther, a prophet. Occam was developing a great theory of science, the basic tenets of which live on in the British empirical tradition to the present day. Luther just tolerated science as of relatively little importance aside of the saving of souls. Occam's skepticism of preceding philosophies sought to be constructive like that of the ancient Carneades. He sought to give a new structure and method to science. Luther's skepticism is inclined to go much deeper, to turn its back on all science and philosophy, and to find in grace all that ultimately matters. So although Luther called Occam "my dear master" and "chief and keenest intellect of the schoolmen," the same charge he launched against the Thomists might be lodged against him. The Thomists misunderstood Aristotle; perhaps Luther misunderstood the Venerable Inceptor.

We started this brief survey by saying that even against his will, Luther was conditioned by philosophy. We may conclude it by asserting that even though it was not his intention, Luther has a significant place in the thought world of the West. But his important influence upon philosophy was not direct but indirect. "If as a special and precious value of our modern culture, we see freedom of thought and conscience, cultivation of individually authoritaded conviction, and the possibility of scientific research, it was attainable only through the most thorough smashing of faith in the infallible authority of a visible church. And this is the accomplishment of Luther—an accomplishment by which he has earned himself a place in the history of philosophy."²³

23 F. Bahlow, *Luthers Stellung zur Philosophie*, p. 60. Since the writing of the above study there has come to my attention a new book by Wilhelm Link, who was one of promising young scholars associated with the Tübingen faculty, at the time of his accidental death in 1938. The title of this book, published in 1940 at Munich, is *Das Ringen Luthers um die Freiheit der Theologie von der Philosophie*. This book presents an elaborate study of Luther's struggle to free his primary religious concept, Justification by faith, from the coils of the philosophy of the day.

GOD HAS LEFT WITNESSES

IVAN H. HAGEDORN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

WE WHO live are engaged in the business of exploration. We are everlastingly trying to find out by experiment what life has for us. It is a grand realization to know that we have a guide tried and sure, who marks out the way for us. "Thou wilt show me the path of life; in Thy presence is fullness of joy. With Thee is the Fountain of life; in Thy light, we shall see light." We need, then, only to be obedient to that which is deepest within our hearts, and God will plant our feet in the right paths. "Then shall we know if we follow on to know the Lord."

How different we all are! One of the great discoveries of the last century was the discovery that the finger-prints of all men differ. Millions of impressions have been taken and no two have been found alike. No two people are alike in physical make-up, or mental energy units, or emotional reactions, or spiritual values. No two voices are identical in timber, tone, color, quality, or pitch. And yet the great father-heart of God reaches out to each and every one of us. When William Black, the novelist, was about to sail from New York to England, a man rushed on board with a basket of flowers. He told Black how, on his last voyage, fifteen years before, his little girl had died and owing to conditions had to be buried at sea. As a favor he asked Black if he would be so kind to take the flowers and scatter them upon the waves when he passed over a certain latitude. Of course Black promised to do so, and very early one morning, while it was still dark, he stood on deck, and with the captain, under the morning stars, he cast the flowers on the wandering grave of a little child. That was fatherhood, reaching forth across the years, across the sea in the darkness, after a little one lost long ago. Such a spirit, such a love is in the heart of man. Whence did it have origin? Is it not because we have been made in the image of Him whose heart is a heart of love? It is this God who would show us the path.

You may recall the incident in the World War when a curly-headed son of the Bishop of Winchester laid down his life on the western front. And on the road along which he marched to his death the Bishop set up a rest house where young soldiers could stop for recreation and entertainment; but in that house was a bare upper room with just a carpenter's bench, and here during the war more than 100,000 young men going out

to meet their fate knelt and made their peace with God. It is surely good to know that along the way of our earthly pilgrimage there is a loving heart who would help us on and show us the path. As innumerable as His children are, there is not one of them who need be denied that guidance. We marvel at the miracle Christ performed when He fed the five thousand with a few loaves and fishes. I wonder if we ever think of how He feeds one billion, six hundred million mouths three times a day, winter and summer, year in and year out. The increase by the sea is only a crumb of what He has been doing for millenniums. Then, they were all filled, not one went away empty. It is not less possible now. Paul says, "My God shall supply all your needs." But you must come to Him. Oh, Man! Why suffer the pangs of soul-hunger when there is bread enough and to spare at the Master's table? As He is bread for the hungry, so He is water for the thirsty, the light for them that are in darkness, the life for them who are desirous of life, the Gospel for those who are seeking good news, and surely also is He the Way for the wanderer.

How greatly we need someone to show us the path in our day. Martin Luther said, in his day, "The age is Satan's own. No hopes of any improvement." John Calvin exclaimed, "The future appalls me. Unless the Lord descends from heaven, barbarism will engulf us." Equally strong statements may be made today. It were indeed well for us to draw very near to our Guide. It is He alone who is able to guide us safely through the night of danger and darkness and bring us once again into the bright sunshine.

"What have you got for a philosophy of life?" the psychiatrist asks as he talks with men and women who are referred to him from the medical clinic. They hesitate and stammer and do not know just how to answer. "Have you got any religion?" he changes the form of the question. One answers, "I've given up going to church." Another says, "Oh, I'm very active in the church, getting up suppers, running entertainments, helping to raise money," with never a suggestion of looking at religion as anything more than a kind of club affair, never an intimation of finding in it strength for the pains of life, stability in the set-backs of life, fresh impetus when the feet are weary, stimulus when the soul needs invigoration. The questioner tries to suggest that religion might mean some such things. "Going to church," he says, "is sometimes not much more than a kind of social life. Do you get from it any help in meeting your difficulties?" "I believe in God," the one questioned counters. "Well, what does that mean to you? Does believing in God make you feel that you are linked up with a Life that you need, with a Strength that you can draw into yourself to make you sufficient for anything?" Truly, there are many of us who need to know the Guide. However, God has not left us without many witnesses. They

have been available all through the centuries. Alertness on the part of man will readily discover them.

I

The order and beauty of nature test our skepticism. Every gleam of beauty is a pull toward God. That there are such gleams we cannot deny. I am of the mind that the beauty of the world is more impressive than its obvious order. The poet is of inestimable help in aiding us to catch a vision of the world's splendor—

golden daffodils
Beside the lake, beneath the trees
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.

It is interesting to mark that beauty appeals to man and not to beasts. Its purpose is to enrich life and not merely to preserve it.

The herded pines commune and have deep thoughts:
A secret they assemble to discuss.

Mark you, to a man they are not merely a group of trees, but something more, much more. It is difficult to conceive of beauty as proceeding from other than an intelligent source. Scarcely less impressive than the benevolent redundancy of the beauty of our world is the capacity that man possesses for its enjoyment. Honore de Balzac lived many years in a cold and all but empty attic. There was no flame in his fireplace, no picture on his wall. But on one wall he inscribed with charcoal, "Rosewood paneling with com-mode;" on another, "Gobelin tapestry with Venetian mirror;" and in the place of honor over the fireless grate, "Picture by Raphael." Whence the beauty of the world? And again, whence the hunger of man for that which is beautiful? Surely, every answer must point us to God.

We Americans are a quick moving and tense people. We have suffered a grievous loss when we cease cultivating the little garden, the children's game, the comradeship of poetry, the love of art in painting and music, the quiet atmosphere of home and family, to speed along concrete highways in cars which shut out the tree-tops, the hills, and the sloping fields. We do not take time to see the trees, the tall ones pointing skyward, or to seek out the little flowers hidden under leaves, or to walk restfully along the gurgling brooks. Even at the seashore, instead of looking out upon the wide, deep, and beautiful sea, smiling blue and mysterious, our eyes are prone to watch window displays along the boardwalk.

II

Every love pulsation is a tendril reaching out for God. Paracelsus saw no good in man till, in his own heart, love had

been made wise
To trace love's faint beginnings in mankind,
To know even hate is but a mask of love's;
To see a good in evil, and a hope
In ill-success; to sympathize, be proud
Of their half-reasons, faint aspirings, dim
Struggles for truth.

Certainly, to mark any evidence of love in our fellows and to make inquiry as to its source will lead us to God. The Apostle John writes, "Every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God." One can readily feel that he was endeavoring to express the thought we are here discussing. When David Livingstone was buried in Westminster Abbey, many eyes were fixed on the negro who stood at the head of the casket. This was the Zanzibar servant, who had brought his master's body from the African swamp, asking as his only recompense that he might attend it on its sad journey across the sea. Surely, if man thinks upon such an evidence of affection and loyalty, and studies to determine its source, there is only one answer, one sensible answer, and that is God.

Lincoln and his law partner Herndon, jogging along a muddy road in an old buggy through pouring rain, saw a pig caught in a crack of an old rail fence, squealing for dear life. A little farther on Lincoln, who was driving, stopped the buggy, got out, and let the pig loose. When he climbed back in, his feet were muddy, his clothes wet, his hat dripping. Asked for an explanation of his humane act, he said, "If I hadn't, I would not have slept a wink tonight. That pig's squeal would have echoed in my dreams." Who can derive other conclusion than that the great-hearted Lincoln had drunk at the Fountain-head of Love? An old violinist was poor, but possessed an instrument which never failed to charm by its soothing mellowness. Played as he could play it, it never failed to awaken responsive chords in the heart. Asked to explain its charm he would hold out his violin and tenderly caressing its graceful curves he would say, "Ah, a great deal of sunshine must have gone into this wood, and what has gone in, comes out." Robert Browning, in his "Fra Lippo Lippi" writes:

Do I find love so full in my nature God's ultimate gift
That I doubt His own love can compete with it? Here the parts shift?
Here the creatures surpass the Creator—the end what began?

III

Every deed of good will points the way to consummate Goodness. Edwin Lewis, in his volume *God and Ourselves*, asks with point, "Are honesty, truthfulness, generosity, sympathy, justice, love, self-sacrifice, purity, humility, and similar graces and virtues merely human creations, devices man has worked out to ease the friction of living together? Hardly! No, man is compelled to be honest, or truthful, or generous, in the same sense that he is compelled to breathe or eat or drink." In every such act, God's hand can be seen, if our eyes are open.

Sir Ernest Shackleton was once asked to describe his most terrible moment in the Arctic. It occurred one night in an emergency hut. He and his fellows were lying there, he rather apart from the rest. They had given out the ration of the last remaining biscuits. There was nothing more to divide. Every man thought the other man was asleep. He sensed a stealthy movement and saw one of the men turning from side to side, to see how his comrades were faring. He made up his mind they were all asleep and then stretched over the next man and drew his biscuit bag to himself and removed the biscuit. Shackleton lived through an eternity of suspense. He would have trusted his life in the hands of that man. Was he turning out a thief and under terribly tragic circumstances? Stealing a man's last biscuit! Then Shackleton sensed another movement. He saw the man open his own box, take the biscuit out of his own bag and put in his comrade's and return the man's biscuit and stealthily put the bag back at his comrade's side. Shackleton said, "I dare not tell you that man's name. I felt that that act was a secret between himself and God."

Expatiate as we will upon so noble an action, there is only one explanation which suffices. That is that man was made in the image of God. In such acts, he is truly godly. The old charge that religion was thrust upon men by a few unscrupulous priests is palpably absurd—it leaves the priests themselves quite unaccounted for. Every fruitful idea, every revolutionizing conviction, every enthusiasm for a holy cause, every radical transformation of character, every reintegration of character is explainable only through the predication of a good and living God who is ever attempting to get at men's hearts.

IV

Every verification of truth opens the path to God. The method Philip used to convince Nathaniel is available to every honest inquirer. When the latter doubted if they had found Him of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets wrote, he asked Philip, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" The answer was "Come and see." The unwillingness to accept

this challenge keeps one in the rut of unbelief. I recall the story of Frederick the Great. He once expressed a low opinion of a certain officer. It was objected that this officer had been through ten campaigns. "Yes," said old Fritz, "and so has that mule over there been through ten campaigns, but he knows no more of war than when he began."

The honest mind will naturally revolt against ready-made truths. He will, however, have no desire to excite or foster doubt unnecessarily. His sole thought will be to find satisfaction in a faith whose truth is intrinsic and recognizable as such. He knows that there is no satisfaction in unbelief. Even its position is difficult to maintain. As Browning says again

How can we guard our unbelief?
 Make it bear fruit to us? . . .
 Just when we are safest, there's a sunset-touch,
 A fancy from a flower-bell, someone's death,
 A chorus-ending from Euripides—
 And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
 As old and new at once as nature's self,
 To rap and knock and enter in our soul,
 Take hands and dance there a fantastic ring,
 Round the ancient idol, on his base again—
 The grand Perhaps.

Scientist and philosopher venture beyond commonplace experience and observation into a realm of causes. Lately the great English astronomer, Sir James Jeans, announced his latest conclusion that true science has its limitations, but he would dare go beyond them in the light of perception. No man knows more of the stars and their courses, the nature of the galaxies, the pattern of the universe, but though this knowledge has been attained by laws of mechanics and mathematics, he sees the universe at last not as a machine, nor as a scheme of suns and stars guided alone by blind necessity—"the universe," he says, "shows evidence of a designing or controlling power." It is a short step from this conclusion to the idea that man's thought at best is the shadowy image of the wisdom that guides the universe. By it he climbs to the heights of knowledge and may be rewarded there with a glimpse of the infinite. The testimony of Jeans, as one who has made the journey, is that the life of the universe is wise and purposeful. This is the scientist's discovery of the Creator, confirming the faith of simpler men that God is infinite Wisdom, in whose image man was made.

V

Every venture in faith casts its light on the road ahead. Santayana calls faith "the soul's invincible surmise." Professor Baillie has well put

it, "the projection of our moral values into the real order of things." Jones has phrased it "the power of the mind to see the invisible." Robert Browning has again caught the spirit—

I go to prove my soul,
I see my way as birds their trackless way,
I shall arrive! What time, what circuit first,
I ask not. But unless God send his hail,
Or blinding fire-balls, sleet or stifling snow,
In some time, his good time, I shall arrive!
He guides me and the bird.

Emil Ludwig recently gave us a fascinating tale, *The Nile*. He saw it as "the greatest single stream on earth," and has pictured for us the tremendous influence it has had in the affairs of men. He concludes that if the Nile had not flowed through Egypt whole centuries of human strivings, aspirations, beliefs, and achievements would never have taken place. The narrative captivates us as this wonderful interpreter shows us the effect of the river on men, on the kind of life lived near it, among the dark-skinned tribes of the interior where the Nile begins, as well as in lower Egypt where the fellah works the fields and the tradesmen travel the river in boats. However, there is a river often alluded to in the Scriptures as "the river of Life" which has been of greater influence in our world. Men who have dared to embark upon its waters have charted not only their own courses, but also the course of the world. Mahatma Gandhi, when asked what qualifications the man destined to lead the world out of its present fog would have to have, made answer: "He will be a man who will be conscious of God twenty-four hours of every day."

Religion does not restrict; it enlarges all its conceptions. There was once a Scottish mill girl who was so timid that she was afraid to cross Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, unless some one took her by the hand and led her across. Was it likely that such a fearing girl would ever do anything very brave? And yet the call came to go to Africa, and she went. What a foolish thing for such a one! But as soon as she made the venture, and took the risk, the power was there—she walked the jungle alone and stood before angry chiefs till she had bent them to her will. Her name was Mary Slessor. And this is the only way in which the power of God can be realized by any life and by any church.

VI

Every sorrowful experience is a call to men to rest upon the bosom of God. In trouble, in need, in want, in distress, I involuntarily call upon God. That assures me that God is. God has been trying to teach us from

the dawn of history that testing times are veritable hot-beds of progress, and in no area of human experience more so than in the realm of the spiritual. A man was invited by an artist to come to his house to see a picture which he had just finished. When the visitor arrived, he was shown into a room which was pitch dark, and there he was left for a quarter of an hour alone. Not unnaturally, when the artist came to him, he expressed some surprise at the reception that had been given to him. "Surprised, were you?" said the artist. "Well, I knew if you came to the studio with the glare of the street in your eyes you would never be able to appreciate the fine coloring of my picture, and so I left you in the dark until the glare had worn away from your eyes." Often it is necessary that we spend an interval in the darkness in order that the glare of the world wear away long enough that our eyes might be able to see His face.

I recall a woman who had a little boy—a beautiful child of about six whom she adored. He was killed suddenly. One moment he was there almost beside her. The next he was struck down, gone. One shocked, surprised, frightened look from his wide blue eyes, and he was gone. And there was she, kneeling, clutching him, calling to him, sobbing, bereft of sense. Someone raised her. Someone's hands picked him up. She ran—utterly without consciousness, her brain whirling, her mind shocked. She could only run, and run, and cry, "Oh, God! Oh, God! Oh, God!" And then she heard, "Be still! Be still! Be still!" She felt someone—or something—beside her, keeping up with her, slowing her down, supporting her, soothing her. She could feel this like invisible footsteps, like someone walking silently beside you in the dark. She stopped running, and walked, and went back. People took her in hand, and then life went on, and she bore it. But after that she always believed.

Listen to this confession of the great apostle of good cheer to the soldiers during the World War. Harry Lauder lived for his son John. His whole being was bound up in his boy. Captain John Lauder was first in everything. They were pals together. One day during the war Harry Lauder was singing in a great hall in London. The audience was convulsed with laughter. A telegram was received in an orange and black envelope. It was bad news. It was handed to him after the concert. He then opened it with trembling hands and a rapidly beating heart. He read "Captain John Lauder killed in action." He was stunned for a moment. His boy was dead. The joy of his life was gone. He left immediately for France, then returned home to his wife alone. The Dominie came to comfort him. Harry Lauder says, "I saw the row upon row of white crosses. John was sleeping the sleep of death under one of them. There was an ache in my heart and an emptiness in my life." In this severe trouble he saw three ways open to him. They are open to everyone in such experiences of trouble. One road leads to

despair. Another leads to drink. The other leads to God. "I considered all three," he said, "and then turned to God." "Hear this thou that dwellest carelessly."

VII

Every sin creates a need for divine forgiveness. Man is so constituted that it is certain he will sin, but it is just as true that man is so constituted that he will not be satisfied in his sinfulness. Even if he succeeds in escaping the judgment of his fellows, he does not escape self-judgment. And he knows, too, that even if he turns a deaf ear to that self-judgment, as he always may and often does, that judgment still stands. This was well illustrated in the case of a young explorer. He was found in a lowly hut, dead, with a dish-pan he had used for a desk across his knees, and in his skeleton hand the following letter, in the writing of which he was evidently engaged when death overtook him. "The sun is shining, Mother, but I feel so cold. I can still walk a little, but that's about all. There is no blood in me, because I have not eaten for so long. I haven't seen another human being for forty days now. There are some magazines here, but the stories are so silly. I have some cards, but I don't care for solitaire. The only thing I worry about is if God will forgive my sins."

It is a glorious realization to know that God, and not sin, has the last word. As in the ancient prophecy, "The mountains and the hills break forth into singing, and all the trees of the field clap their hands." And it is useless to whistle desperately in the dark in an effort to overcome that fear that follows in the wake of committed sin. A flippant youth once interrupted an evangelist, saying, "You tell about the burden of sin. I feel none. How heavy is it? Eighty pounds, ten pounds?" The evangelist replied, "Tell me, would a corpse feel a 400 pound weight if you laid it upon him?" "No, because it's dead," countered the youth. The evangelist then said, "That spirit, too, is dead which feels no load of sin."

This thought also gives us pause. The greatest sins are not always the greatest crimes. The most terrible sins often go unpunished by man. Often those who are free to roam are more offensive in God's sight than those who have taken the "rap" and are held tight behind prison bars.

O conscience, into what abyss of fears
And horrors hast thou drawn me; out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plunged.

There is a sickness that affects the whole world. The Scripture readily places us all under guilt. "There is no difference. All have sinned." Man then facing a battery of accusing fingers knows full well that there is no hope in

himself, must find his way to a place of safety, led by One infinitely stronger than he. And this is not easily accomplished. Sin casts its heavy shadow upon the world. It falls upon God in the shape of a cross. The poignant utterance of the "lord" in *Green Pastures* has significance. "This business of being God is no bed of roses."

There is thrown back upon man an awful responsibility. His failure to accept the one way out plunges him into outer darkness. A man murdered another on the shores of Lake Michigan. He threw the body into the water and ran away. Three days later the body was washed up in front of the murderer's cabin. The guilty man, troubled by conscience, confessed his crime and surrendered himself to the authorities, exclaiming: "Ah, yes, I know the tides did it! The tides did it!" When the tides of memory, conscience, and reason begin to roll in on the judgment day every secret thing will be made manifest. The eyes of the Son of God will commend or condemn, according as you have acknowledged your sins here and trusted in Him as your personal Saviour, or refused to confess Him while you have clung to your sins. Surely reason urges you to trust Christ as your Redeemer and not to wait to face Him as your Judge.

VIII

Man alone, of all living creatures, has an instinct for the future. He needs to relate his life to something that has a future, that has within it an echo of eternity. Cecil Rhodes, the well-known English statesman, prime minister of Cape Colony and founder of the Rhodes' scholarship, for many years cherished the dream of a union of all English-speaking people under one organization. It is said that he put this dream into writing and carried it with him constantly. When affairs did not turn out well, and he was weary and discouraged, he would take from his pocket that worn document and refresh his energies by feeling himself again under the influence of the vision that was his.

I do not believe that man could survive being bereft of the idea of futurity which he has peopled with possibilities and hopes. This gives him dignity and greatness. George W. Richards, in his volume *Beyond Fundamentalism and Modernism*, says with truth: "For men, in whose hearts God has set eternity, the world is too narrow and cramped, too shallow and empty to live in. We need two worlds to satisfy us. If we live only for the present world, we are like men who live in hovels in a deep valley by the side of swamps and bogs. We are stifled for lack of air, blinded for lack of sight, starved for lack of food, stagnant for lack of his endeavor. We are hemmed in by things on every side. We need the gospel to set

tasks for us that are commensurate with our vision of God in the gospel and that are becoming to men whose citizenship is in heaven."

Man's grasp reaches far beyond the present. In the desk of Auguste Sabatier were found plans for research which would have required two hundred years for their accomplishment. Irving Batchellor, writing in the *American Magazine*, makes this statement: "Every one of the great intellects of the past, so far as I could learn, from Homer to Abraham Lincoln, had common faith in the soul of man and in its existence after death."

One who never turned his back but marched breast-forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

Goethe, the illustrious poet of Weimar, once said, "He who is plenteously provided for from within needs but little from without." This is a great truth. The state of the mind and the soul is the measure of the well-being of each one of us. When the American scholar, Henry Warren of Cambridge, forced his pain-racked body to serve his mind; when he took the Harvard course successfully, though it required seven painful years and he had to be wheeled from class to class in a chair; when in spite of bodily tortures he then made himself an expert in the art of deciphering the crabbed and obscure characters of ancient Pali manuscripts; when because of his pain he had to carry on those studies and write his pages standing before a high desk, with crutches under his arms, or kneeling in front of a chair to take the strain off his back; when, even the comfort of a bed at last denied him, he had to sleep on the floor in a specially constructed room, with scrupulously regulated temperature; and when, under such conditions, he put forth translations of the ancient Buddhist scriptures which led a famous swami to visit Cambridge just to pay him tribute for the people of India; when Henry Warren so shaped his life the state of his body was pitiful, but the state of his mind and soul was magnificent. The spirit refused to bow to the catastrophies of the body. In reverse cases the spirit can be the precise determinator of the physical condition of the body.

However, a supplementary truth is necessary. We can only hope for success in the high goal of our desires if we come to the realization that God is here and that He is engaged all the time to find us. Edwin Lewis frankly says, "Religion is an invasion from without, as well as a felt response to an approach." Jesus surely indicates this when He prayed, "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight. All things are delivered

unto Me of my Father, and no man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him."

Thus, religion is not a monologue, but a dialogue, not only something within man but something without him. Therefore man can link himself up with God with a strength that he can draw unto himself and which will make him sufficient for anything. We cannot but seek, and we cannot but believe that we shall find. It is useless to contend that countless millions of men who have lived and died in a faith were nothing but the victims of a vast, cosmic hoax. Aristotle stated elemental truth when he solved the ancient problem by affirming that "God is the object of the world's desire."

Yet, strange as it may seem, man often will be restrained by fear from knowing God. My old Pastor imparted to me a life-long lesson. He had one child, a girl. Often he would get down on all fours. His daughter would climb upon his back. She would "Giddap" and "Whoa." Sometimes she would pull this ear or that one, as she would "Gee right" or "Gee left." They had very happy times together. On Sundays she would see her father in the pulpit, speaking as an ambassador of God. Ofttimes his voice was stern. Many times he commanded. Then again he would plead, often with tears. The stern prophet of God, however, garbed with austere regularity, was her father, the father she loved, who was willing to get down on all fours, desirous of wooing the little child to his heart! No frock coat, no sternness of voice, no seriousness of demeanor ever made her forget that he was her father. The God of Sinai is nevertheless our Father. What He most desires is our love. He has wooed us with the tenderness of His great heart. "He who spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?" (Romans 8:32).

NOTES AND STUDIES

NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE TRAINING OF RURAL PASTORS

MARTIN D. SCHROEDER
Lincoln, Nebraska

GOD of the countryside has had a hard time getting a hearing. Denied much of a welcome in the conventional seminary, He is now finding cheerful acceptance on the campus of the state agricultural college. What the average theological school could not offer to the future country parson is now gladly imparted by institutions not founded for divinity purposes; no more than the Bethlehem stable was meant to be a maternity ward. But as it was shown then, strange combinations may work out to perfection when history completes the record.

I

If any truth can be attached to the saying, "as the seminaries go, so go the churches," these schools have gathered few stones for their crowns if judged by the fate that has come to the country parish. With the latest census revealing that tens of thousands of country churches have literally "fallen by the wayside," it is not unreasonable to inquire whether our theologians, supposed to train men in keeping with the needs of their prospective fields, have succeeded. There are seasoned rural pastors who deny them that credit. Some claim that much they stored in their minds while in the seminary had to be forgotten to make room for new lessons they had to learn, the hard way, after reaching the rural parish. Others never learned and have therefore contributed to the now pressing country church problem.

Rural communities are through with this kind of treatment. Realizing their own needs and the church's hesitancy to understand them, they have turned now to secular agencies which put forth every effort to recreate an attractive American country life, ranking among which is the state agricultural college. Church schools have been blind to this trend developing all around them. They have, for the greater part, consistently avoided making efforts to train a portion of their student body for a life of service in the type of rural community from which many boys and girls first came to them. Such steady drain of the countryside's best blood to the city, creat-

ing there an over-supply, could lead to but one result, the eventual exhaustion of the small community's civic and religious leadership and loss of corresponding financial support. Now, church schools begin to feel that something is amiss. Tenants and farm laborers are not interested in institutions that show no interest in them, and the small land-owners know who are their friends.

President C. F. Wishart, of Wooster College, is credited by the press with saying that "within twenty-five years there will be no more independent church colleges unless greater financial support is assured soon." He declared, "Many of Ohio's sixty church colleges face a gloomy future." Though this conjecture may be justified, his diagnosis is not complete. Money is not everything. That there is in certain localities a lack of funds, few will doubt. What must be searched for is the cause for this drop in support. This, as it appears, is the persistent urbanization of rural youth through these very church schools and which, in the course of years, has removed not only valuable human assets, but also the ready financial strength that once formed a part of virile rural communities. Pondering the school's predicament, it is difficult to refrain from recalling the proverbial cake. Church colleges are just about through eating it. The real effect of this blind procedure is now dawning upon a traditionally anti-rural (that is the word) educational system. Could it be possible, that it is too late?

II

Here it is where respect for the state agricultural college must be voiced. While scrupulously adhering to its original purpose, aiming at two blades where but one grew before, their leaders did not close their eyes to wholesome human relations within the rural community, giving full credit to the church and its ministry as potential social dynamic.

So effective has been their concern for the spiritual welfare of the farmer that time and again young men entering a state college for purely agricultural purposes, serve now in the rural ministry and usually with distinction. The viewpoint and influence of teachers brought about that change. Whence that interest on their part?

State college staff members are convinced that the values in rural life are not measured by the number of blades to the square foot of soil, but by the achievement of American ideals for the people who cultivate that soil. They know that religion, rightly applied, is that most potent agency that brings people together in supreme loyalties to their home, their work, their community, and their country. Dislocations here lead to undesired social and political consequences. Without those commonly shared spiritual qualities, these leaders are convinced, American country life will become the breeding place of serious discontent, instigated by disowned farm labor.

As economic peons and peasants their mode of life and fecundity must eventually develop into a major national problem. For a good beginning we have had a taste of what might be in store, through the farm holiday movement of a decade ago and our present attempts to catch up with the migrant.

Few people are in a position to know as the rural sociologist does how the streamlining of farm life has created a Frankenstein, not only reducing the number of small farm-home owners, but even lowering the need for tenants and farm labor. This allows the large-scale absentee owner much freedom in deciding on his farm occupants, the choice governed by the applicant's experience, his equipment and possibly the presence or absence of grade school children in the family. The reason? No children—no schools; no schools—less taxes; less taxes—more profits. Profits, not anyone's health, is the sole purpose in commercial agriculture. Corner-cutting corporations know their farming. But sociologists know that such regional decline of population, as the last census has alarmingly revealed, will bring their best laid plans to naught. The human factor in agriculture has therefore, for them, turned into a major concern not to be completely out-flanked by technological progress. They are agreed that the rural community is that social group upon which national welfare, for obvious reasons, depends more than upon any other. Yet, much neglect is here evident, temporary government aid notwithstanding. It is therefore the state college's care to safeguard and strengthen American farm-home life.

III

Apart from the endeavor of co-operating farm organizations to raise rural life to a higher level, it is the church with her God-ward way of life that has been chosen as the most logical channel to convey active goodness to the rural community. It is a matter of record that many faculty and staff members in state colleges (as elsewhere) are practical church members and often leaders in their respective denominations, convinced of the efficacy of the Gospel in community living. With such conviction, joined to their scientific insight, they have opened a door for rural leaders, including the ministry, to benefit by the available research, teaching, and extension service facilities of their institutions. There are several methods. Some have been used successfully already. Others are in the process of development, depending upon the willingness of churches and their seminaries to co-operate with such state colleges that offer training in the classics and rural sciences, preparatory to the regular seminary curriculum.

As things have been going for the town and country church, there is little hope that much effective rural leadership can be developed if the present attitude of the church in general continues. Such disposition has

labeled the rural community as undesirable for men with ambition. Professional people, according to charted surveys, congregate where money has made its home. This is the fruit of prevailing educational ideals. Ministers form no exception. The small community shepherd is therefore branded, *sub rosa*, as unqualified for more pretentious tasks. A look at the personnel of denominational committees will illustrate the point. In effect, he is not left to any illusions.

For such reasons there are comparatively few high-calibered men serving in fields of poor reputation who have the hardihood to stand up under the benign glance of "his betters" and meet their suppressed commiseration with the smile of self-assurance. It can not be expected otherwise as long as the country church is variously characterized, whether justified or not, as a guineapig for beginners in the ministry, a meal-ticket for the man with great expectations, or a last refuge for the ministerial misfit—indeed poor inspiration for the high-minded, mature, rural pastor.

Yet, as it has been recognized by state college authorities and high-ranking officials of the national agricultural administration, it is the small community's pastor, the same as in olden days, who by training, ability, and high idealism must become the centralizing factor, the social dynamic who will raise the community in the nation's picture to the place that in a divine economy rightfully belongs to it. It is in this respect that the state college has shown greater vision for the rural Kingdom idea than the church school has been able to muster. When an agricultural state school offers outright a pre-theological course, and other state universities offer credit for study of the Old and New Testaments and "the Church and its Program," and when the number of seminary students with state school degrees doubles in the just ended ten-year period, it gives the church school something to think about. Yes, indeed, God has come to the state college.

IV

It is fully appreciated that seminaries are aware of their own reluctance, imposed by custom and tradition, to bow to every suggested whim and fancy of specialized ministerial training, throwing up their hands in despair over what next they may be expected to teach. No doubt, it is no simple matter to come in conflict with century old traditions of what candidates for the ministry should know when leaving the seminary. Dean E. E. Flack, of Hamma Divinity School, gives expression to the prevailing sentiment on the seminary's part by saying, "While it is incumbent upon a theological school to endeavor to improve its scholastic standards in harmony with the educational demands of the times, . . . it is the primary responsibility of such a school to see that it supplies the church with a succession of men equipped in every way to meet the spiritual needs of the people. . . . The ministry is

so far-reaching in its service that a certain amount of specialization is helpful; however, the full seminary curriculum should cover the needs in general."

To have every collapse in technique on the part of the seminary's products credited to its inadequacy is an old experience. It must be admitted that it is a physical impossibility to provide, under existing limitations, every variety of elective specialization without injury to what ought to be required fundamentals. Albeit, the rural question is neither whim nor fancy, but manifest reality which demands the church's recognition in some way or other, regardless of established educational practices. If these latter do not meet the exigency, then they must yield to new forms that will.

To assist seminaries in overcoming the dilemma, state college staff members are volunteering. Imbued with an eagerness to create a revitalized American country life, they cultivate, some of them fanatically, every possibility that might contribute toward the achievement of the ideal. A strong church, as focal agency of rural community life, is near the top of their list. In other words, worship of God is known to them as part of the solution. Sensible co-operation, not separation of church and state, is their idea of finding the way out of what must be for the seminaries an embarrassing situation if confronted with an open mind.

V

How this is to be accomplished is no longer a matter of conjecture and hopeful wishing. Fact is that these same state colleges, within the scope of their charters, have been eager for years to interest rural clergymen in the resources which a well-equipped state school, dedicated to country life, can offer.

There are, first, the short and long term summer schools specially designed for rural leaders. At least twelve state colleges offer such courses in 1941. Regular instructors teach their regular courses. Rural sociology and economics are leading subjects. At Purdue University, for example, after completion of their four-year course a diploma signed by the president of the school is granted.

Another opportunity for special training is offered to in-service students through the college extension departments. Such perennial contact with state school facilities by the isolated pastor has worked wonders in increased devotion and efficiency, particularly where mobile libraries are in use.

A third medium to remove deficiencies in rural ministerial training is through the creation of a generally acceptable pre-theological course in agricultural schools. To iron out conflicts while offering candidates the opportunity of expert training without lowering the seminary's emphasis on fundamentals, a committee consisting of representatives of both state colleges

and theological schools, working in conjunction with the town and country committee of the Federal Council of Churches, has proposed a dovetailed curriculum which has already found wide approval.

To direct the idealism of youth to the development of the human factor in rural life, a fourth plan points to the exchange of lecturers on the part of seminaries, state colleges, and the U. S. agricultural extension service. Leaders in these groups are in full agreement that the cultivation of these four ways of co-operation among them, observing highest academic standards and legal limitations, will lead to an understanding and glorification of the rural ministry which heretofore has been neglected.

As God's place in agriculture is being mutually recognized by the leaders in both church and state institutions, there is hope that American farm life will be rescued from the fate of impending bondage, and the city church from an inevitably resulting decline.

THE NEGRO OF THE NORTH AND THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

HUBERT J. HENRICH

Buffalo, New York

OF ALL the different races and nationalities which make up our vast American meltingpot the American Negro of our northern American cities is probably the least understood and appreciated. The American Negro in our northern cities, we say, should be allowed to attend our public schools and find employment in our various industries. He is by nature carefree and irresponsible, though he is slowly adjusting himself to modern needs and responsibilities. In religion he is by nature emotional and belongs to either the Baptist or Methodist churches, or a sect which has its roots in their teachings. As Christians we should treat him as a brother, yet it is not advisable to urge him to join our congregations because of possible intermarriage. Besides, he will be happier among his own people, in his own church. He is still more willing to attend a service which approximates a revival meeting than he is to sit through a Lutheran liturgical service. It will take years for him to come to the point where the Lutheran Church will attract him in any great numbers. Moreover, we add, when you talk of race prejudice and class distinction, there is just as much disharmony among the Negroes themselves as there is between the white man and the Negro. He, too, has his class distinctions and prejudices. Break these down first, then speak of bringing our people into closer fellowship with him.

It is obvious that there is some truth in all of the above statements and that they do constitute a problem, but they are not the final word in this

situation. The problem cannot be discarded this quickly, nor have we reached a mature answer to our question. We must look more closely at this problem and even forget, at times, our past ideas and prejudices, for only then will our minds and souls be free to face the situation.

The better to understand what the Lutheran position should be regarding the Negro of the North, and to have a clearer understanding of his needs and potentialities, the writer made a rather detailed study of the Negro churches and people in Buffalo, N. Y. This study, which was made during the winter of 1939-40, sought to answer the following questions. (1) Is the Negro of these northern cities in need of a liturgical service with a highly educated ministry? (2) Are the denominations which are at present so strongly entrenched in this task doing a satisfactory piece of work? Would we as Lutherans become "competitors" or "helpers"? (3) If there is a need, are we at present capable of fulfilling it? What type of clergy, liturgy, and approach would we Lutherans need to begin such a work in a satisfactory manner?

To answer these questions all the Negro churches of Buffalo were investigated, a more detailed study being made of twenty-five representative congregations. Through the use of questionnaires and personal interviews an effort was made to learn the size of the congregations, the type and condition of the church buildings, the education of the pastors, the type of service used, and the general progress each was making. The twenty-five churches chosen for a detailed study included:

Baptist	11	Episcopal	1
Pentecostal	5	Holiness	1
African M. E.	2	Lutheran (Missouri)	1
Roman Catholic	2	Methodist Episcopal	1
Congregational	1		

These congregations represent a fair sampling of Buffalo's Negro churches, since each denomination has practically the same percentage of strength in the entire city as it has in the above table. No intentional favoritism was shown to any one denomination, nor was any preference given to a church because of its size, position, or resources. It has been the honest desire of the compiler that these twenty-five congregations should fairly represent Buffalo's Negro churches.

Looking first at the ministers who serve these twenty-five congregations we find that their education is as follows:

9 or 36% never finished high school.

4 or 16% have only a high school diploma.

- 3 or 12% are college graduates but have not graduated from any seminary.
- 4 or 16% are seminary graduates but have never held a college degree.
- 5 or 20% are graduates of both a college and a seminary.

This tabulation does not take into consideration the one or two years of college training some of these men have had, nor does it consider the type of college or seminary from which they graduated. As one might expect, some college or seminary degrees represent little more than a stiff high school course and cannot be considered too highly.

It is significant that slightly over 50% have no more than a high school diploma, while 80% are lacking both a college and a seminary degree. Furthermore, if every Negro church in the city were brought into this tabulation the percentage of educated men would not rise, but in all probability fall. The clergy of the Negro people is surely improving, yet it still leaves much to be hoped for.

Turning to the outward aspects of these congregations we notice the variety of structures used for a place of worship. Only 11 of them, or 44%, are housed in buildings which resemble a church. The remaining 14 are divided as follows:

- 7 are in homes, which may or may not have had very much remodeling.
- 4 are in vacant stores.
- 2 are in brick assembly halls.
- 1 is in an abandoned theater.

When one considers the poor condition of some of the church buildings of the first group and then adds to it this list of fourteen congregations which do not even have a churchly edifice, it can be seen what problems exist. The building itself does not, of course, indicate the worth of the work done for the souls of men, for many of our most prosperous congregations have begun their work in a home or vacant store. The problem lies in the fact that many of these congregations have been in this situation for years and see no opportunity for a change. Either the congregation is without the proper leadership or it lacks the will to erect something more churchly. In most instances it is a combination of the two. Divided denominationally the church buildings are as follows:

Regular church building	Baptist	5
	African M. E.	2
	Congregational	1
	Episcopal	1
	Lutheran	1
	Methodist Episcopal	1
		—
		11
Use of a home	Baptist	4
	Pentecostal	2
	Holiness	1
		—
		7
Use of a vacant store	Baptist	1
	Pentecostal	3
		—
		4
Brick assembly hall	Roman Catholic	2
Abandoned theater	Baptist	1
		—
	Total churches	25

A comparison of the size of the congregations in relation to the structure of the buildings helps us very little in finding out why some congregations are much more adequately housed than others. Congregations with an enrollment of over 300 may be meeting in a home in which there has been little remodeling or improvement. Likewise the Roman Catholic churches have memberships which range from three to six hundred each, yet they are meeting in brick assembly halls. These assembly halls are, however, very substantial and are churchly on the interior.

If one does not find a positive relation between the size of the congregation and the type of church building they worship in, one does find a very close relation between the education of the minister and the church building. The clergymen with good educations can very naturally demand better congregations, but they also have the ability to raise these congregations to new levels. Statistically this relationship is shown in the following comparison. Of the clergymen who are:

Not high school graduates	11%	are in regular church buildings.
Merely high school graduates	50%	“ “ “ “ “
College <i>or</i> seminary graduates	42%	“ “ “ “ “
College <i>and</i> seminary graduates	100%	“ “ “ “ “

The seeming contradiction of the high school graduates when compared with those graduating from either a college or a seminary is due to several local conditions. The four men who have graduated from high school and have gone no further are of an unusually high type. They have had the ability to build fairly strong congregations, and have managed them well. Likewise, in the third group of college or seminary graduates there are two Roman Catholic churches which are meeting in substantial, brick assembly halls. If these assembly halls, which are better than many of the church buildings, could be listed as church buildings the percentage for the third group would be 71%. This, no doubt, would be a truer indication of the relationship between the men who have graduated from college or seminary and the type of church building they occupy.

Both from the above statistics and from observation there seems to be little doubt that the Negro people are not only willing to follow men of education and intelligence, but that they sorely need this type of leadership. As was stated before, the condition and structure of the church building cannot determine the work done in the souls of men, yet it is usually a symbol of the spiritual work one may expect within its doors.

It has often been said that it is just as impossible and useless to try to take the high degree of emotionalism out of the Negro's worship as it is to try to remove wetness from water. It is an inborn characteristic, we are told, which should not be removed, but merely adapted to modern use. Here again we have an argument which is not wholly devoid of truth, yet one which is not based on practical experience. The hand-clapping, shouting service which we so often associate with the Negro is not inherently connected with his reverence. He is not being drawn to the house of God most strongly by this type of worship, but rather by the quiet sort of reverence which we ourselves practice. I do not mean to say that the Negro is not emotional, nor that his emotions are exactly the same as those in the Caucasian race, but I am particularly anxious to wipe out the false ideas concerning his spiritual needs and desires.

In Buffalo, for example, the Lutheran Synod of Missouri has had a steady growth among the Negro people. Starting as a tiny mission in the pastor's home, it now has its own church building, is self supporting, and has a remarkable hold on the lives of its people. All this was accomplished by a minister of the white race who used no sensational methods and who was opposed to any service which approximated a camp meeting. In the matter of public worship there was no compromise with his people concerning the form of worship. Their service is conducted in exactly the same manner as one would expect to find in any other Lutheran church. Their robed choir sings heartily, yet not loudly or boisterously; the congregation shows no outward form of emotionalism, but is very attentive and dignified; and finally,

the minister preaches in a very well modulated voice, stimulating their spiritual senses without trying to sway his people through the use of outward emotionalism. Furthermore, this Lutheran congregation has not drawn its members from the educated classes nor from those men and women who may previously have heard of the Lutheran Church in the West Indies. It has built its membership out of the common, ordinary type of Negro citizen who is so numerous in our industrial cities of the North. It has gone out into a field ripe with the harvest and has come back laden with the fruit of God's love.

Another example of a church which lacks outward emotionalism, yet has drawn the lives of the people to it, is the Methodist Episcopal church. Its pastor, who is a fine, educated Negro minister, has done such a worthwhile piece of work that he has been repeatedly elected secretary of all the Methodist Episcopal ministers of Buffalo. He, too, conducts his services in exactly the same manner as one would expect to find in any church of this denomination. He is a powerful force among the people of his race, for he has a fine education, a forceful personality, and a very deep sense of religious values. Moreover, his church is located in the heart of the slums and not among the more highly educated Negroes.

An Episcopal church, which is more Roman Catholic in nature than it is Anglican, also has a thriving congregation. Though there is some criticism because of the Roman tendencies of the rector, there is no criticism because of the lack of emotionalism in the services.

Especially noteworthy is the progress of the two Roman Catholic churches. Under the leadership of a white priest these congregations have had a more rapid growth than any other church. One of the churches has a membership of six hundred people, the other of approximately three hundred. These Catholic churches are making deep inroads into the ranks of the Negro people and are by no means confining themselves to those Negroes who are former natives of Louisiana or other Catholic territories. We Protestants sometimes explain this by mentioning the mystical side of Catholicism and remark that the mysteriousness of the Catholic Mass is not far different psychologically from the tremendous emotionalism of a revival meeting. This may be true, but the hold the Roman Catholic church has on the Negro people is much more far-reaching than merely that of the mysterious. Though the heritage of a great majority of the Negroes is Protestant, we have no reason to feel that it will remain so. The Negro people will quickly pass from our hands if we are not actively conscious of our responsibilities towards them.

The argument that the Negro people require a minister of their own race is equally fallacious. Though it is certainly advisable to work towards a well trained Negro clergy, it is by no means a necessity. Here again we may turn to the Lutheran church in Buffalo as a case in point. When their first pastor,

who was white, left for another charge, the congregation had the choice of a Negro pastor who had graduated from their own seminary in St. Louis or a member of the white race. Their choice was in favor of the white minister. As time has passed they have seen no reason to regret this choice, even though the clergymen of their own race were of a high character. Another example, as has been mentioned before, is the very rapid growth of the Roman Catholic congregations under the leadership of a white priest. Though in the future they may place a Negro priest in charge, the present lack of one did not prevent them from growing in a most spectacular manner. This rapid growth of the Catholic church should be a vital lesson to us as Lutherans, for it has happened in more than one American city. Where we so often wait until we find a nucleus of West Indian Negroes of the higher type, they roll up their sleeves and start with the Negro who happens to be the nearest. We wait until we have a Negro clergyman; they send a well trained priest into the field who is of the white race and commands the respect of the men and women whose skins are black.

The color of the minister's skin is not the controlling factor; it is his own personal, inner qualifications which will determine his success or failure. We as Lutherans have a great opportunity, and could render a lasting service to the great majority of Negro people, but we must not wait until some future time, for the field is now ripe with the harvest. It is the Negro man whom we see working in a construction gang, the Negro postman who may deliver our mail, the Negro boy or girl attending our public schools, or the Negro woman who works as a scrub woman to whom we must go. They need what we have to offer them as servants of Christ, and we need the fellowship which they can give us as Christian brethren.

Refer once more to the chart showing the education of the Buffalo Negro ministers, and then consider whether it is possible for a boy or girl, or even a man or woman, who listens to highly trained speakers on the radio, educated teachers in our public schools, or forceful labor leaders to come on Sunday to a church service conducted in a vacant store by a minister who has never had a high school education. When they go to a doctor they may possibly go as relief clients, but they go to a man with an education, one who is often working in a hospital which costs hundreds of thousands of dollars. Can they then turn for religious help to a raving preacher who continually preaches on a half dozen texts which he may know? Their doctors must pass certain examinations and fulfill certain requirements, yet anyone who feels the "call" may become a minister.

Though their homes are often dirty and ill kept, they desire something better from the institution which is seeking to give them God's truth. That the Negro people may often live in crowded homes which resemble shacks more than real dwelling places is no reason for believing that a run-down

church building with a poorly educated minister will suffice. The Negro people are noticing these things, although they may not express their feelings in these words.

As members of the United Lutheran Church we have made a beginning in this work at Haverford Center in Philadelphia, Transfiguration Church in New York City, and Holy Trinity Church in Jamaica, Long Island, yet the surface has hardly been scratched. This is one huge field in which we are not only badly needed, but one in which we would not be "competing" with other church bodies. If we act wisely now we have a bright future; if we wait the people will either turn to some other denomination or, what is much worse, turn away from the church entirely.

The Negro of America calls us. How shall we answer and whom shall we send?

REQUIREMENTS FOR CHURCH SOCIAL WORK

ANNA EBERT

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

EDUKATION for church social work should lend itself to deliberate design, for the reason that its primary goal is objectively visible. The definite intention to prepare individuals for membership in an established occupational group should serve to guide leaders through the ever-turbulent discussions of the aims of education where specialized skill is a necessity.

There is some question, however, as to whether this supposed advantage of clarity of purpose is as real as it is apparent. Fundamental social changes seem to be drastically altering some of the assumptions upon which all professions have been based. Co-operative and tax-supported plans for welfare and nursing services, for example, are transforming the traditional constitutions of these professional groups. A thorough re-examination by educators of the nature of a profession is long overdue and, when it is made, it should clarify certain issues now insistently arising in education for professions. It is the purpose of the present paper to indicate certain important questions that will arise in any such review of the basis of preparation for church social work.

The April quarterly published by the Association of Church Social Workers states our primary goal—"church social workers must give spiritual leadership with such professional insight as will enable them to deal effectively with individuals, with groups, and with the community forces of today's highly socialized life." Church social work rests upon a body of principles governing the relation of our work to the life of the times. These principles

receive their formulation through self-criticism and deliberation by our own professional group. They are constantly being changed and reinterpreted in the light of the experiences of the various groups as they perform their several services and fulfill their function in society and in the church. The Association of Church Workers lists three significant findings in its study of the preparation of church social workers for their jobs. The April quarterly lists them:

1. We are pioneering in the matter of training the church social worker and constant experimentation is seeking the best means of putting trained professional leadership into the diversified service needs which the church meets in the changing social scene.
2. While the different denominational groups vary greatly in the matter of procedure in training workers, all of the groups are becoming more conscious of the "relevance of the church" to the changing world scene and are realizing that both clergy and lay workers "must take the church's message to people where they are, in the real life situations arising out of complex social relations."
3. Training schools and seminaries see the need of more efficient and effective leadership, and are adjusting our curricula to meet this need.

No small amount of confusion exists in the minds of laymen—and in the minds of some church social workers—as to the nature and appropriate position a church social worker should occupy in the scheme of the church's work.

The typical church social worker has a practical job to do under all the difficulties and hazards that appear when life, property, or vital public interests are directly in jeopardy in the actual life situation. He may have no time to lose, he may have little immediate access to the complicated paraphernalia of scholarship, and he may have few or none of the proper tools for the work at hand. Nevertheless, he must act and he does act with the evident skill of experience and upon the best theory that he can muster. He can rely upon no one for unquestioned authority; the responsibility for the moment, at least, is his, and the situation, at least in some particulars, is likely to resemble no other situation he has ever seen.

The worker whose job puts upon him these necessities for responsible action, independent judgment, and the resources of good theoretical ability and knowledge must, in the first place, possess definite kinds and amounts of freedom. He must be free in the sense of being magnificently equipped to bear the responsibility he assumes. He must be liberated from ignorance, prejudice, and narrowness of vision. He must be able to see the fullest implications and consequences of his decisions for the activities of all who are directly or indirectly concerned.

In the second place, he must perform his tasks in continuous and active collaboration with others engaged in similar work. To the extent of his reliance upon theory in his practice, he must take into account the maximum of

available experience. This means that he must be in constant communication with his fellow-workers in the field. A closely knit organization of workers is inherently required for the practice of any profession, regardless of whatever other values organization may have.

In the third place, the church social worker must be vitally concerned "to bring the blessings of God to the soul," the plus to every form of activity in which he may engage. He must be in touch with the most secret intimacies of the Spirit and everlastingly aware that he is engaged in a work *with* the Lord.

With the foregoing concepts in mind, we may now turn to the requisites of good education for church social work. They seem basically to be three in number: (1) general cultural and spiritual maturity; (2) scientific competency; and (3) guided practical experience.

GENERAL CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL MATURITY

Church social workers are assumed to be experts and in certain relationships the church and public look to them for leadership. Sometimes they are able to fulfill their expectations and sometimes not. Where they fail, it is frequently not for lack of adequate specialized ability, but rather for insufficient understanding of the nature of man or for inadequacies of personality. The expectation of the public that church social workers should be capable of leadership in social life is not improper. Three features of their education may help to assure this capacity: vigilance as a Christian worker, leadership training, and the maintenance of health and integrity.

Vigilance as a Christian worker. The church social worker should know something of human history. He should not be ignorant of the origin of the dominant ideals of human history and values of the society in which he lives. He should not be bewildered by the rise and fall of social systems and governments and even the institutional church, knowing that the history of social institutions is cluttered with the tragic remains of people who have suffered themselves to be complacent under false securities. He should realize that no Christian dare relax his vigilance, for history makes trash of the underpinnings of any people who lose the dynamic concern to discover means that "they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly." The outward events of his life he should be able to interpret in relation to the unseen and living world. This perspective of human history is the safeguard of our most cherished values.

Training in leadership. The church social worker should know how he can function through his work in helping, not merely to alleviate ills in his immediate position, but to solve the more urgent social problems of the community. This requires something more than a general knowledge of the na-

ture of his problems; it necessitates a study of the relation of his profession to these problems and some initial experience in working upon them through his own special field of service. In small groups, as in the larger society, the making of crucial decisions by a ruling clique, without tempting every person concerned to bear all the responsibility of which he is capable, tends to discourage and thwart rather than nourish originality and creative ability. Respect for personality is vital. It is apparent that the church social worker needs, for as long a period of his life as possible, to be habituated to exercising real responsibility for the solution of problems of the common welfare and to be schooled to expect others with whom he associates to grow to fullest human stature when they are accorded every possible opportunity to do the same.

Personal health and integrity. Church social work requires for its membership persons of integrity, balance, and good mental, physical, and spiritual health. Tolerance, intellectual honesty, passion for fairness, patience, adaptability and flexibility in meeting different situations, force of Christian character—these are basic. Rudiments of these personal qualities are acquired more through the manner of life which is followed over the years than by means of any formal schooling. The important thing to be learned is how to hold one's gains through the trials of new or changed circumstances of life.

There is nothing so disheartening as to see a promising church worker lose his grip upon himself or "crack up" under the tensions of a strenuous period of his career. Whatever the cause, the disintegration of the life of a person who has real ability, a single motive for service, and whose opportunities are apparent, could often be avoided if deliberate attention were given to ways of preserving and strengthening the abilities that make individuals outstanding and effective as personalities. This is not the least of the component elements of spiritual and cultural maturity.

SCIENTIFIC COMPETENCY

The professional scientist must have such command of the discipline of his field as to be able to distinguish between the important and the unimportant problems and to forge the new or adopted methods and tools for experimentation on his own account.

What does it mean to say that the church social worker should have such scientific competency as to enable him to deal with his practical problems in terms of fundamental principles and to formulate an appropriate interpretation of the meaning of each practical situation confronted?

At this point we are caught between two philosophies that seem to be in head-on collision with each other. On the one hand, there is the view that one must know the historical development of a given science or move-

ment as a basis for understanding the deficiencies of man's knowledge to date. On the other hand, there is the view that problems themselves define the terms in which the basic principles that govern their solutions shall be expressed. The scientific discipline of the worker is a product of penetrating observation and creative interpretation of a reasonably copious body of practical situations requiring treatment. The difference between the two is not that one is scholarly and the other *ad hoc*. The difference is as between the absolutist and the experimentalist outlooks on life. Without desiring to over-simplify the issue, in my opinion we must make a choice between these two general positions and the only possible criterion of choice, for professional people, is one of practical or operational consequences. That philosophy of education is best which most fully enables us to respect and deal with the day to day problems on their own terms, free from fixed and unalterable conceptions of what must be true regardless of cases, and which contributes most to the development of sturdy independence of thought on the part of the professional worker.

GUIDED PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE

It is generally taken as axiomatic that professional education should include a period of supervised practice. The various types of church social work differ greatly and the amount and kind of such initiation necessarily differs proportionately. The need for an opportunity for candidates to "try their wings" under capable guidance seems apparent.

This raises the question of the value of the "apprentice" relationship. The ancient idea of the apprenticeship was that the master craftsman assumed responsibility for teaching the young man his own craft and certifying to the standard of perfection of his apprentice's abilities before the applicant was admitted as a recognized member of the guild. This was highly personalized instruction. One feature, often overlooked, is that membership in the guild meant more than merely possessing certain skills; it meant believing in the principles of the guild organization. Thus the initiate had the benefit of an opportunity to learn his craft both technically and intellectually at one and the same time. He was afforded a human contact through the most difficult period of adjustment to his calling, namely, the period in which the larger implications of service in the calling were opening themselves to him and in which he was laying the foundations of his general outlook upon the problems of his craft group in society.

It would seem that something of the realism of this apprentice relationship has a place in modern professional education. Only in very slight degree is it now being provided for. We cannot continue to improve our standards of service without keeping the formal instruction of our candidates closely

in touch with practical problems, nor without assuring ourselves that those who claim to be ready for membership are really capable not only in what they know but in putting their knowledge to acceptable use. There is no better way to learn to accept individual responsibility than to do so with the consciousness that resources of greater wisdom than one's own are available, if needed, in the person of a trusted guide who has met such tests in his own career. It might well be argued that the apprentice relationship, properly conceived, might advantageously have a place throughout the period of our professional education, although it should in no sense be thought of as a complete substitute for classroom, laboratory, or clinical instruction.

However clearly we may state the underlying purposes of education for church social work, we cannot lose sight of the fact that we shall at present have to work with the institutional resources at our disposal. You may also have wondered, at points in the present discussion, why certain qualities and experiences recommended for church social workers were not designated by the term "general education." You may have asked yourself how the training schools and seminaries of the church could be responsible for such matters when they were so clearly associated with the fields and function of the college or secondary school. Those of us who are interested in the integrity and optimum adjustment of our workers are laboring under the handicap imposed by the prevailing theory of general education in schools and colleges. General education needs an occupational focus and professional education needs the continuing enrichment of concern for personal development, social understanding, and spiritual discernment.

But what are the implications for our deaconess motherhouses as we face these requisites for the education of our church social workers?

The diaconate has had a hard road to travel in its course from the rich traditions of first century Christianity to the present time. The boundless current of spiritual joy which took form in service, through Christ's teachings, to whoever needed it, has ever been its chief characteristic.

Growing pains are inevitable as increasing demands are placed upon an organization seeking to serve the Christian church "in a world shaken to its foundations." As we reviewed basic principles to be kept in mind in the preparation of our church social workers in order to assure the effectiveness of their services, the role of our deaconess motherhouses loomed large in a number of instances. We must remember that our deaconess motherhouses are homes and training centers for religious workers. The education given does not prepare its students to be professional social workers. They are given instruction regarding various types of professional social work, they receive some clinical experience in co-operating with social agencies, and they learn to rely on expert opinion instead of undertaking

to solve complicated social problems by themselves. Some of our deaconesses are professional social workers, having graduated from schools of social work, others have taken special courses and field work to equip them for their particular service.

Social work was born out of the Christian impulse, but religion is so completely divorced from it by many of our schools of social work today that it is hard to believe it was the hand-maid of religion at one time. Early social workers were inspired with Christian ideals. Today psychology and psychiatry have too often replaced religion instead of having aided in interpreting it. But back of all the evil and misery still lies the fundamental wrong—alienation from God.

Church social workers must assume a greater degree of responsibility for helping to lead in the endeavor to make social work thoroughly Christian in character and spirit. The only institutions of our church offering religious training are our seminaries and deaconess motherhouses. It is for our church social workers that our deaconess motherhouses should aim to supplement the equipment of the spirit, which schools of social work and secular institutions do nothing to provide. A definite course or seminar might be conducted under the motherhouse auspices. The material taught and the qualifications of the teacher should justify the course. Institutes might have value in an emergency program. Retreats have already become a tradition in one motherhouse. The ministry of our church social workers is an integral part of the mission to which Christ has called the church and our deaconess motherhouses' share can lie in the realm of inspiration and co-operation.

A second field in which our deaconess motherhouses can render a more vital contribution in co-operation with professional church social workers is in connection with our church owned or controlled children's institutions. Religious education must be the crux of every phase of these institutions' program, whether vocational, recreational, or disciplinary, but the emphasis on individuality gives the program a social work approach.

Surveys which are essentially unprejudiced, fact-finding studies have brought to light situations in certain institutions inconceivably inhuman and backward, revealing it to be our duty to keep our children out of them.

Since "an institution is only as good as its staff," our deaconess motherhouses could place their facilities at the disposal of the church in offering special courses and institutes, insisting upon two fundamentals. First, the staff member must be a specialist in the field in which he is employed and, second, in addition to his special qualification, he must have patience, insight, love, and judgment necessary to get along with difficult children.

Since social workers have shown little awareness of the opportunity for professional careers afforded by children's institutions, our church social

workers have a special obligation and opportunity to take part in shaping their policies and practices. Our deaconess motherhouses will gladly share in correcting conditions that need not exist and in creating homes that are a constructive Christian force.

The progress of our motherhouses toward closer affiliation with the church and the tendency toward their incorporation as recognized official institutions of the church will have its greatest value in the closeness of spiritual and intellectual contacts which the effort to agree upon objectives will engender. Motherhouses will receive much to aid them in their professional house-cleaning and the church will profit by many rich traditions of which they have little knowledge, for they have been modestly preserved by generations of pious, devoted women.

The great and exacting spiritual task in which all church workers are engaged comes as a special challenge today urging and constraining us to lend all our strength and energy to "the church which stands undaunted amidst the shattered fragments of humanity and works tirelessly for the healing of the nations."

AMONG THE NEW BOOKS¹

The Christian Interpretation of Sex. By Otto A. Piper. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. 234 pages. \$2.

Here is a book on sex which is different. In general, books on the subject can be classified as either Christian or non-Christian, according to their method of approach. Christian books are for the most part more idealistic than realistic. Non-Christian books are more realistic than idealistic. The former seek to solve the problems which arise in the sex life by advocating a type of spirituality which oftentimes seems to be unrelated to the real facts of human nature. The latter make human nature the starting point and frequently content themselves with teaching a "refined technique." Professor Piper's book is both realistic and Christian. Its purpose is "to show how one who believes in the Christian faith ought to face the question of sex, and not to discuss what man's natural will by itself can make of sex life" (p. 173).

The biblical teaching on sex is summarized under five leading ideas:

1. In sexual intercourse two persons of different sex become joined in an inseparable unity.
2. Sex is meaningful in itself, creating a specific kind of personal relationship. It does not require a justification by concomitant features, as, for instance, the possibility of procreation which it offers.
3. In sex life one attains knowledge of the inner secret of one's own physical being.
4. In love sustained by faith sex attains its consummation and perfection.
5. Sex life is necessary and good, but not absolutely essential for a full human life.

It is the third of these principles which is emphasized. To know and experience "the inner secret of sex" is to discern what God's will requires. This secret is the fact that the two sexes "exist for one another and each is mutually empowered by the other to attain a stage of reality in which the nature of each reaches completion. . . . This inner secret would have been impossible to discover from within our own individual lives. The reciprocity of sex is indispensable for this purpose, for the secret has an entirely different content for man and woman. Each is able to learn it only through the other" (p. 61).

In the Christian life this secret becomes part of the mystery of life lived "in Christ." The one who loves not merely with sex love, or personal love, but with Christian love, "regards the beloved person as a gift which is offered him by Christ himself. Christ came to seek that which is lost. He does this, among other ways, by means of sex attraction. A Christian's sex love really has to do with the individual character of his partner and his sex nature; but it lays hold of the sex relation to the other in a way which plumbs the profoundest depth which is accessible to us" (p. 122).

From this point of view the author approaches the problems of divorce, of premarital sex-relations, of fidelity within the marriage bond, and of birth control. The sex life is a gift of God, and when its secret is truly apprehended in Christian love it obtains a value of its own and creates its own safeguards. The fact that it may result in the birth of children is an additional evidence of God's goodness in His gift. But

¹ Books reviewed or noticed in these pages may be secured through the United Lutheran Publication House, 1228 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

the conception of children is not the only purpose of God in the differentiation of the sexes. "Sex is meaningful in itself, creating a specific kind of personal relationship."

All this is derived from the Scriptures. The many texts which are quoted are familiar texts but they are so interpreted and related to one another as to provide a complete and consistent picture of the biblical teaching on sex, and one is surprised to discover how full and realistic and sane this teaching is. Naturally, the book is intended for Christians. One must have experience of the life "in Christ" in order to understand the meaning which the author assigns to "the inner secret of sex." There is a teaching abroad today which would regard the sex act simply as a love act, in a sensuous way, and it has become the source of many serious problems. One needs to be able to discern the difference between this conception and the author's. The difference lies in the faith with which the Christian regards the whole idea of sex and this the author makes clear throughout the book.

The book is recommended as a helpful and illuminating discussion of a difficult subject. The delicacy, yet realism, which characterize it; above all, its biblical approach makes its unique contribution in the field of practical Christianity. Even sincere Christians are sometimes troubled in conscience by the demands of their sex life. They have felt its mystery but have not been able to understand or interpret it. A careful and devout reading of Professor Piper's book will help to resolve many of their doubts and provide them with a helpful guide through this phase of their married life.

E. E. FISCHER

For Better Not For Worse. By Dr. Walter A. Maier. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing Co., 1939. Third, revised edition. 564 pages. \$2.50.

This comprehensive "Manual of Christian Matrimony" by an eminent scholar and a popular Lutheran radio preacher is of very practical importance to all readers, teachers, ministers, and others interested in the task of counseling human relationships. Through questionnaires, personal consultations, and careful tabulations, Dr. Maier has given in this study not merely a series of theoretical essays, but the results of wide research.

By innumerable references and quotations he deals with the whole range of problems and difficulties that face the modern family and those who are prospective home builders. He squarely meets all enemies of the Christian home face to face and handles them with a kind of spiritual jujutsu, grappling them where their arguments are strongest and skillfully meeting them with a stronger array of facts. The author maintains that Christian morality in marriage is challenged or endangered by the theories and practices of Communism, "collegiate morality," companionate marriage, and Freudianism, as well as Christian Science, Mormonism, and Swedenborgianism. These "counterfeits of Christianity" fundamentally work against the highest ethics of the Christian home. Standing unflinchingly upon Biblical teaching, the author takes each type of problem as carefully outlined in the table of contents and deals with it with the authority of one who has been a careful student and observer of human relationships. He draws upon other authorities copiously to present both sides of a question, then states his conclusions based upon not only evangelical convictions but also scientific honesty. The author believes that the application of Biblical principles is "highly concordant with the best results of sociological research."

Two of the seven sections of the book are devoted to a defense of Christian morality against an array of modern (and ancient) "menaces to wedded happiness," which include birth control and divorce. The other five sections of the book are positive, constructive, and helpful in their consideration of "Criteria of Happy Choice," "Courtship, Engagement, and Marriage," and "Elements of Wedded Happiness."

The reader will find lacking a chapter discussing the biological factors involved in the marriage relationship such as is found in many recent volumes written on the same subject. But that omission makes the volume adaptable to a wider reading of all ages and groups.

A complete table of contents and a topical index help make the book usable as a ready reference.

PAUL L. REASER

Christian Pacifism Re-examined. By Cecil John Cadoux. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940. 245 pages. 12s. 6d. net.

Undoubtedly one of the hot ethical problems of contemporary life is the problem of war. So much has been written on it, from almost every conceivable angle, it seems that yet another book can do little but turn over already thrice-parched ground. Nevertheless, while there is little that is strictly new in the present volume, this book has a genuine contribution to make to the entire question. And for this reason. It is perhaps the clearest, most complete, and sanest presentation of the Christian pacifist's position that has yet appeared. Every sentence in it is pellucid; one may disagree, but one cannot well misunderstand. Every pertinent question, within the scope set—which is the problem of the *Christian ethics* of war—is frankly treated, and there is no sawing-around knotty spots; one may differ, but one cannot well charge evasion. And every position taken is carefully, almost cautiously, balanced; one may take another position, but one can hardly accuse the author of having taken his without a thoroughly fair consideration of all other possible ones. When a book is clear, relatively complete, and marked by a high degree of sanity—especially a book on a subject such as this—it deserves the widest possible reading and the most careful consideration.

The author, a non-pacifist originally, became a pacifist about thirty years ago, after making a thorough study of the synoptic gospels. Since then he has held a place of leadership among British pacifists. The gathering war-clouds, clearly certifying a coming storm of tremendous proportions, laid upon him the necessity of completely re-studying his position from the angle of Christian ethics. He made his restudy, and made it thoroughly, and came out a still-convinced pacifist. He wrote his book just as the storm was breaking. Its publication was for a while delayed. (It is truly remarkable that it has been able now to make its appearance—a fact which speaks well for a certain kind of British tolerance.) The delay in publication has made certain parts of the book somewhat anachronistic, particularly the discussions of some aspects of the post-war reconstruction; but this has not damaged the intrinsic value of the argument as a whole. The British viewpoint that underlies has somewhat colored certain evaluations, particularly the evaluations of the various causes underlying the present war; but this too, because of the general spirit of fairness and sanity, has not vitiated the main contentions. The book is good, excellent, despite its weaknesses.

The author states his objective early in the book: to study "war and pacifism only as they constitute a problem in Christian ethics" (p. 10). All other phases of the problem are more or less rigidly excluded, though their value is fully recognized. Every Christian, the author maintains, has a sense of responsibility for the welfare of his fellow-men. He is in duty bound to try to advance their well-being. He must, to this end, exert pressure. This pressure varies in kind and in degree, running all the way from the mild pressure of personal example to the severe pressure of torture and war. The ethical legitimacy of the various methods of bringing pressure to bear on others is canvassed, with some interesting results. While the author concedes that no finality is possible on ethical questions, he expresses the conviction that the closest approximation

to finality lies, at least for the Christian, in the will and law of God. Five tests for the discovery and verification of the will and law of God are set up: (1) the general sense of the Christian community, (2) the utterance of the Christian heart, (3) the character and teaching of Jesus, (4) the Christian doctrine of the character of God, (5) expedience. The author is now ready to set forth his view of what pacifism is. It is the conviction of the Christian pacifist that the law of love compels him under all circumstances to "confine himself to those methods of pressure which are either wholly non-coercive or are coercive in a strictly non-injurious way, foregoing altogether such injurious methods of coercion as torture, mutilation, or homicide"—in short, war. This view of pacifism is then put to a serious test, the five tests already set up. And the conclusion is that it stands these tests extremely well—much better, certainly, than any other method of dealing with the issues involved in modern war. With this conclusion the reviewer wholeheartedly agrees; there is no other procedure for coping with the evils related to war, that even approaches, in both ethical rightness and ultimate ethical effectiveness, the procedure of pacifism viewed as the persistent outreach of a Christ-grounded love.

That there are many practical problems and difficulties, even when this basic position is granted, is clearly evident to anyone. The author is keenly aware of them; and the remainder of his book is largely devoted to a consideration of them. To mention but a few of those receiving splendid consideration, the reviewer would list these: Is all war ethically condemnable? Are there no just wars? If war is wrong, what then of the injurious coercion of police force in society? Is there no place for coercive protection of threatened or attacked innocents? Must the pacifist endeavor to stop a war, once it is started? Must the pacifist refuse all co-operation with his nation, his government, when these are involved in war? If not, what are legitimate spheres of co-operation? What is to be the pacifist's attitude toward those supporting war, particularly toward fellow-Christians who are conscientiously supporting it and engaging in it? Not always are the author's arguments and conclusions convincing, but they are sane, strong, honest, fearless, and saturated with a deeply Christian spirit. They are always worthy.

The reviewer cannot believe—and the author himself does not believe—that this book speaks the last word on the problem of war. But it does undoubtedly speak an exceedingly significant word, that must be taken into account in the final solution of the problem. The book is highly recommended, to Christian pacifists and to Christian non-pacifists. Probably neither group will fully agree with it or accept it; but both groups should, through it, come to, if not new understandings, certainly new appreciations of one another—and perhaps to peace among themselves, a peace that can be real even in the midst of a world that continues to be torn by war.

PAUL J. HOH

War—What Does the Bible Say? By J. R. Coates. London: Sheldon (Macmillan), 1940. 61 pages. 40 cents.

Out of England at war comes this book on war and the Bible. It is one of a series on present problems and the Christian faith addressed to the general reader (particularly in England but applying also to America); but it warns the general reader to expect not to be let off lightly but rather to prepare for sustained effort and hard thinking. Its approach is that of "explorers, trying to understand what we find in relation to its environment in time and space," rather than attempting to "lay out the subject systematically, quoting the Bible . . . under appropriate headings, such as war and theology, war and social progress, war and the individual. . . ." Admitted is the contradictory nature of the wealth of references to war in the Old Testament, and

the inconclusiveness of the few references in the New. But the author insists that with this approach and with the light of modern historical knowledge, "lessons of profound and far-reaching importance may be learned from an unprejudiced examination of Scripture . . . the vehicle of guidance from the Living God."

An introductory chapter on the relevance of the Bible warns against oracle-mongers who would use the Bible as a book of magic with a central message that is no more than trivial fore-telling. It is urged that the connection between the Bible and current affairs be put on a much higher level, in keeping with the Bible's vital significance for modern times. At all times this little book emphasizes uniquely the fundamental unity of the Bible, stresses the close continuity of Old and New Testaments, and explains many relationships that bind them together of which both conservatives and liberals are largely unaware. This emphasis on the unity of the Bible and the author's gift for facility of expression are illustrated in this sentence on the relevance of the Bible for today: "It is as if the distilled essence of all ancient wisdom has been preserved for us in the frail classics of that little tortured people—that 'kingdom of priests'" (p. 3).

The next five chapters and thirty-five pages deal with various interpretations of war given by the Bible in varying situations: war described as waged by God himself, war as the duty of the devout, war as a heart-searching problem for the devout, and war as judgment and punishment for sin. Data are drawn almost exclusively from the Old Testament. And the author confesses at the beginning of his last and major chapter: "If the material so far presented were all the Bible had to say about war, we should have to confess that it does not carry us much further in our effort to understand and solve the vast problem" (p. 41).

The final chapter "War Against War" presents the author's conclusion that the complete message of the Bible is one in stern opposition to war. A section on "Prophet and King" portrays prophecy as culminating in an uncompromising rejection of war, and in an announcement for God of his purpose with man to achieve a warless world. The final section on "Church and State" insists that the Kingdom of God as portrayed by the Bible is set in complete antagonism to the state that would make war. The Bible, says the author, is not opposed to the use of force by the state for the preservation of order; yet the church is in eternal warfare against the worldly state to destroy it and put in its place a theocracy; or from another point of view, states must become churches in the New Testament sense.

Into these sixty pages the author has placed a sound and scholarly account of his subject. Indeed, it may be somewhat too scholarly for the general reader. Ministers, students of the Bible, students of war and peace, all these will read it with interest and merit. But it will be an unusual person in the general public who will have the ability and perseverance to digest it. The presentation is a thoroughly timeless one, so that the book should be as valuable ten years from now as it is today. To achieve this, however, all current references and applications have been omitted. Just a page on the author's application of his principles to Hitler and the present situation would have made a major contribution in clarification. As it is, one must read the last chapter several times to make sure at just what conclusions the author does arrive.

A real contribution is made in the emphasis upon the unity of the Bible, upon the closeness of highest level of the Old Testament with that of the New. However, the giving only one-sixth of the space to the New Testament seems other than a proper balance. The temptations of Jesus are briefly and effectively tied with the subject, but otherwise the vastly important implications of the war situation in which Jesus lived has no reference made to them. Scripture is quoted with particular effectiveness, in contrast to the practice of all too many books about the Bible.

One thesis seems open to criticism. In a section on "Crisis and Law" in the last chapter the author presents four factors as a formula occurring again and again throughout the Bible in an ascending spiral: Problem, Prophet, Revolution, Law. The climax of that formula is in Jesus, with the Sermon on the Mount the law to be followed. This seems at best poor terminology. Law religion is commonly understood by Christians to mean a religion of rules, where effort all too often leads to despair, and where success produces a self-righteous prig more to be deplored than the failures. The Sermon on the Mount is to be followed, to be sure, but not as law but as the ever-elastic and ever-vital expression of a religion not of law but of spirit.

On the whole, however, the book is well done. It certainly is no mere rehashing of well-known material. The approach is original, the method scholarly, the conclusions sound. A valuable contribution is made to a most pressing problem.

HERMAN KEITER

Social Welfare in the Catholic Church. By Marguerite T. Boylan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. 363 pages. \$3.

In her Preface the author, who is the executive secretary of Catholic Charities, Diocese of Brooklyn, poses several questions: What forces are responsible for the development of Catholic charities? What are the objectives of a Diocesan Bureau? What philosophy has motivated the leaders? What contribution is made to community planning and services? The answer to these and subordinate questions forms the subject matter of this informative and thorough work. The Catholic reader will be impressed with the wide extent of the social welfare work of his church; the Protestant reader will find much to stimulate his interest and admiration; the Lutheran reader will be amazed and gratified to discover how often he is in agreement with the principles enunciated. To the student or the practitioner of social welfare, professional or lay, this book will be a source book of information and education about Catholic charities.

The book is divided into three main parts. Part I discusses the nature and development of diocesan bureaus. Under this title, the organizations and the scope of the bureaus, the social forces influencing their development, and the cycles of such development are amply treated. Part II describes the functional activities of the Brooklyn diocesan bureau, treating in successive chapters: Family Welfare, Protective Care and the Courts, Trends in Child Welfare, Social Group Work and Health. Part III is entitled "Retrospect and Prospect" and gives general observations on the developments in the field of social welfare, and implications for the future.

There is an appendix of brief summaries of the work in seventy-five archdioceses and dioceses in the United States. All in all this work is probably the most up-to-date and well-documented book on Catholic charities which is available in this country.

While the author takes the liberty, which no one would deny her, to justify and even on occasion to argue for the place of Catholic charities in the area of social welfare, the book displays a breadth of vision and a keenness of insight which are refreshing. A critical judgment does not draw the curtain over weaknesses, and problems which confront the religious social worker are frankly dealt with. While quotations are drawn almost entirely from Catholic sources, they are for the most part valuable contributions to Christian social work. There is a note of positive and vigorous Christian action which many weak-kneed and compromising Protestants may well take to heart.

One is aware, however, that social workers in public or private secular agencies will find a good deal to question and to ponder over. While Miss Boylan is quite insistent upon the strategic importance of community organization, the social worker

will wonder why Catholic charities needs to be quite so vigorous in setting up almost every kind of institution or agency for the care of its "own." On the other hand, there are many Lutherans who will applaud this vigorous prosecution of its own work by the Catholic Church and covet this same kind of program for Lutheran welfare. Yet despite the rather amazing volume of Catholic charitable enterprises, the author is frank to say that in New York City "it is estimated that approximately 53% of the case load of non-sectarian family agencies are Catholic families." In this connection, it may not be amiss to say that if "with Catholics it is the religious bond which is paramount and which makes possible for the Catholic agency to deal in a more satisfying manner with Catholic families and individuals," who shall say that the same argument cannot be advanced on behalf of Lutheran agencies for Lutheran families and individuals?

It is interesting, if not a bit amusing, to find the author charging Protestant city missions and their social services in the past with proselyting among the immigrants who are for the most part Catholics. It is argued that, while this alleged missionary activity did not make serious inroads upon the Catholic membership, it "explains in part the attitude of wariness with which many Catholics are prone to view new social movements." This specious argument is unworthy of the author's usually fair-minded spirit and should not be too seriously held against her.

Much more convincing is the charge Miss Boylan makes against the charity organization movement of the Seventies. "Many of its readers," she says, "were undoubtedly sincere, high-minded persons and made outstanding contributions in the development of techniques and standards in social welfare. To some, however, service to suffering humanity was the supreme end. This humanitarianism could never be completely satisfying to the Catholic" (nor to the Lutheran, we inject) "who consciously recognizes that service to his fellow man is ultimately service done to God. Love of God has always been the motivating influence in all Catholic charitable endeavor."

Without any desire to be a carping critic, one could wish that Miss Boylan were sufficiently aware of the welfare work of some of the Protestant bodies, which share positively the convictions she has so adequately stated above.

To the Lutheran interested in the social work of his own church, Catholic charities as described in this book provide food for serious thinking along the following lines:

1. The organization of Christian social service under the authority of the official church makes for desirable efficiency. The remarkable growth of Catholic Social Welfare can be cited in evidence. There are 1,743 institutions and agencies scattered over the United States. This figure includes 178 homes for the aged, 106 homes or hospices for business people, 13 health clinics, 43 institutions for convalescent care, 84 correctional institutions, 70 day nurseries, 10 institutions for deaf mutes, 680 hospitals, 438 child-caring institutions, 6 institutions for psychiatric care, 40 settlements, 50 shelters, 25 summer camps for children. Making due allowance for religious zeal in caring for the poor and helpless of one's own church, this imposing array of institutions could not have been possible if the work had been undertaken in the haphazard, independent, and unplanned way in which most Protestant bodies have conducted their charitable work.

2. The organization of diocesan bureaus is another reason why Catholic charities have made an outstanding contribution. There are 75 such organized bureaus, with a total of 160 offices. These bureaus make possible strategic planning and effective co-operation rather than the absence of statesmanship and the sad duplication which is characteristic of Lutheran welfare work in this country. Under the diocesan bureau,

all churches in the area are vitally related to the program in place of a spasmodic and spotty interest which we know so well.

3. Catholic planning has known what it wanted to do. The emphasis upon the family, the care of the child under every possible situation, the health needs, physical and mental, and attention to the activities of the group have developed a well-rounded program. But the Catholic Church has been awake to changing needs and has made its program flexible to meet the new social needs of the age. In remarkable ways, the church with all its traditionalism has avoided being bound by outworn methods and outmoded patterns. This is cause for deep thinking on our own program.

4. No better evidence of this last statement is adduced by the author than in the chapter on Training and Personnel. Seven Catholic Schools of Social Work have been established. All are of recognized and accredited standing. Priests, sisters of the various orders, and laymen and women have attended these schools to fit themselves for professional social work. Yet the author complains that the diocesan bureaus have been handicapped by the scarcity of well-qualified Catholic social workers. To the well-informed Lutheran reader that at least has a very familiar ring to it. In many cases, however, we are scarcely conscious of the need of trained workers, or are even resistant to employing professional Lutheran social workers in our church agencies.

We have, we hope, commented sufficiently on the provocative material in this book of Miss Boylan to whet the appetite for a closer examination. The ten charts which give statistical, population, and geographical distribution of Catholic charities add much to the value of the material presented. The material in the last chapter, entitled *Horizons Ahead*, is worthy of thoughtful reading by every student of church social work. Here Miss Boylan discusses the relative value of priests, the "religious," and the lay man and woman for various functional areas of social welfare. She points out the need for a vocational and placement service, and a registration of Catholic social workers. With pardonable pride we remind our readers that the National Lutheran Council already has made a beginning of such a placement service and registration list of Lutheran social workers. No less important is the field of research which no church group has entered seriously to lay a solid basis for social action.

The author quotes one of the Catholic authorities as having classified the literature of charities as "literature of investigation, literature of interpretation, literature of direction, and literature of inspiration." Like him, we also can state that we have an abundance of inspirational literature, but we lack literature of investigation, interpretation, and direction. The volume under review is a contribution to the three last named categories. Would that we in the Lutheran Church could match it for thoroughness and scholarship.

C. E. KRUMBHOLZ

The Meaning of Revelation. By H. Richard Niebuhr. New York: Macmillan, 1941. 196 pages. \$2.

It is a tribute to the influence of Karl Barth that the problem of revelation continues to be in the foreground of theological thinking and is being approached from various points of view. The fundamental outlook of the present writer is historical rather than exegetical or philosophical. He advocates "historical relativism," claiming, however, that this does not lead necessarily to agnosticism but may eventuate in "beliefful realism" of Tillich's type. He sets himself to the surprising task of combining Troeltsch and Barth.

According to Professor Niebuhr, there can be no universal concept of the objectively real for the reason that the point of view of each observer conditions his knowledge

of reality. Christian theology, therefore, has no choice but to begin with and in Christian history, recognizing that its assertions about reality are meaningful only to those who have the Christian viewpoint. Neutrality and uncommittedness must give way to a "resolutely confessional" method. Such was the spirit of the apostolic witness. It was the recital of what had happened in and to the community of disciples by the historical appearance of Jesus Christ. Attempts to substitute for this "dated" Gospel either an idealistic or a realistic metaphysics, either a perfectionist or a hedonistic ethics, only give the church spiritual rickets.

But the history which has revelation-value is not a mere succession of external and impersonal events. It is *our* history, an apprehension from within, history as it is lived by persons. To appreciate and to verify the revelations that came to Isaiah or to Paul we must look *with* them, not *at* them. To have such vision something more than intellectual enlightenment is needed. The *heart* must reason, and in order to reason rightly, it must be purified of evil imaginations. Thus we become equipped to make the transition from superficial "observation" to that "personal participation" which alone reveals the deeper meaning and value of life. The organizing pattern which enables the heart to understand life's meaning and to interpret its various events emerges in a "revelatory moment." Such a moment serves the threefold function of making our past intelligible, of resurrecting the forgotten past, and of appropriating the past for use in the present. The revelatory event can occur only on the level of personality. It involves the self-disclosure to us of a divine person, and it results in a personal relation to him, a relation either of commitment or of betrayal. In the Christian fellowship God so reveals himself to us through Jesus Christ.

The concept of revelation, resulting from this line of reasoning is nowhere captured in a single formal or complete definition. But there is a liberal sprinkling of informal definitions, of which the following are best descriptive of the author's view: "Revelation means for us that part of our inner history which illuminates the rest of it and which is itself intelligible" (p. 93). "By revelation in our history, then, we mean that special occasion which provides us with an image by means of which all the occasions of personal and common life become intelligible" (p. 109). "Revelation is the moment in which we find our judging selves to be judged not by ourselves or our neighbors but by one who knows the final secrets of the heart" (p. 153). "This conversion and permanent revolution of our human religion through Jesus Christ is what we mean by revelation" (p. 191).

Professor Niebuhr has written a meaty and stimulating book on a subject of fundamental importance. The reader has a feeling throughout of being guided by a clear-headed and warm-hearted thinker who takes a positive stand within the Christian fellowship. Unlike many works on this theme, the discussion has the air neither of a musty literalism nor of a dreamy romanticism. It deals in a concrete and realistic way with the facts of history, without once losing sight of those basic facts which belong to the realm of the spirit and give history its meaning. The author's originality of expression enables him to give fresh meaning even to the most familiar concepts, as, for instance, when he defines justification by grace as "the conviction that self-defense is the most prevalent source of error in all thinking" (pp. viii-ix). And he contends for the rationality not only of living individual faith in a personal and revealed God but also of such strictly orthodox views as two-world ethics and Chalcedonian Christology.

But the book also leaves many unanswered questions. Among the important ones are the following. First: How can Christ's tone of timeless and absolute authority and the church's conviction that in Him dwells the fullness of the godhead and in Him are contained all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom be reconciled with historical

relativism? Second: Do not the views of Barth and Troeltsch represent two such basically different approaches that their relation is an "either-or" and not a "both-and?" Niebuhr himself can solve the contradiction only by assuming a man-centered, experience-conditioned point of view, i. e. by siding ultimately with Troeltsch. Third: Does not the discussion of the "revelatory moment" involve a confusion of psychological and historical categories? The author makes no adequate distinction between the *Urgeschichte* of the revelation of God in Christ and the subsequent experiences by which individuals discover God.

These questions all concern the author's fundamental viewpoint. To the present reviewer, critical suggestions come also at certain specific points of the discussion. I cannot see, for example, the relevance of the lengthy excursion into ecclesiastical and general reunion (pp. 118 ff.) to the subject at hand. One is led to wonder whether the author is not using an impertinent external and pragmatic criterion like the organizational unity of the churches to judge the content of revelation. And why strive, after all, for any real unity in truth if by initial assumption we are condemned to relativity? Nor am I persuaded that Lutheranism deserves the criticism of having tended "since the time of Luther" "to ascribe saving power to faith itself rather than to the God of faith" (p. 28). To imply that Luther himself gave ground for any such "subjectivistic inversion" is manifestly unjust, and Lutheranism, on the whole, has carried an objectivistic emphasis against "Schwärmer" of all kinds and times.

On the side of formal scholarship the book is conspicuously defective. The author quotes other works without once giving a page reference and even without mentioning either title or author, as on pages 39 and 40.

In any case, pastors, students of theology, and educated laymen will find here a book richly worth reading. One may reject the author's basic outlook and yet receive guidance and inspiration in "the never-ending pilgrim's progress of the reasoning Christian heart" (p. 137).

T. A. KANTONEN

Is God Emeritus? By Shailer Mathews. New York: Macmillan, 1940. 93 pages. \$1.50.

The author makes it clear that the question raised by the unusual title of this book is not rhetorical; for the answer will be "Yes" or "No," depending on the content of the word "God."

God is *emeritus*, if by the term is meant a transcendent Father and Sovereign, whose will can be influenced by prayer, and who gives eternal life to those who have faith in the atoning death of Christ. The techniques of earlier Christianity, relative to the social order from which they sprang—as are those of all religions—are outmoded in this age of science. "The God of orthodoxy seems ill at ease in a universe of law." Left "without duties to perform" He has "retired into the heaven of poetry and primitivity." "To give existential meaning to such terms as father or sovereign is to revivify a theism that is no longer efficient."

But this book is intended as an apologetic for a spiritual interpretation of existence. A mechanistic view is repeatedly repudiated. God is not *emeritus*, if by the term is meant what the author means. "The abandonment of conventional ideas of a personal God does not forbid legitimate religious experience." Religion is "personal response to personality-furthering activity" of the universe. This aspect of cosmic activity is the true God, who "must represent activity that is beyond doubt or definition." The intelligence of a religion and the quality of its ethics are in proportion to its co-operation with this aspect of cosmic activity. "These cosmic activities assuredly have not been retired."

But "to speak of personality-producing activities of the universe is not to say either that the universe is personal or that there is an individual person existing within the universe." The personality we ascribe to God is the product of a humanly useful anthropomorphism that helps us to make adjustment with the personality-producing aspects of the universe. And "it is legitimate to use such terms (as father and sovereign) as aids to the realization of the fact that cosmic activities from which personality has evolved are not mechanistic."

Religion is different from science in that it seeks adjustment specifically to "these activities of the universe which have made personality possible." Its business is to discover "the conditions under which these forces can be made helpful."

The book presents a coherent religious apologetic for the reality of God; for intelligent religious exercises, not as defeatism and wishful thinking, but as adjustment to the universe; for prayer as conscious self-integration with cosmic activity; for the church as collective activity in the enrichment of personality; for an ethic which accepts Jesus' confidence in cosmic support of love as the highest realism; and for cosmic support of the hope for immortality.

Yet for most evangelical Christians the value of the book will doubtless be rendered questionable by many considerations: the identification of God with cosmic process, and the surrender of belief in His personality; repudiation of a "given" revelation, and basing religious knowledge solely on human discovery; the concept of sin as "opposition to cosmic process;" the appraisal of Jesus as a human who differed from others only in the degree that He perceived and followed the personality-producing aspects of the universe; the conception of prayer as an integration of the self into cosmic activities which have no awareness of him who prays; and many like implications.

CARL C. RASMUSSEN

The Prophets and Their Times. By J. M. P. Smith. Revised Edition by William A. Irwin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. 342 pages. \$2.50.

This volume is a revision of the well known handbook on *The Prophets and Their Times* by Prof. J. M. P. Smith which was first published in 1925. It is a thorough-going revision. The original book contained 276 pages. There has been an expansion of 66 pages. The original chapter captions have been retained, but new material has been added to almost every one and in chapters X and XI we have what amounts to a replacement.

The revision has been made under the influence of the Ras Shamra tablets, the cult poems of the ritual practiced at Marit in North Syria, celebrating the death and resurrection of a god as a means of grace and welfare. It is interesting that this recovery has put a premium on the theory of Gressmann in *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905) with its motifs of Doom and Salvation. The acceptance of this principle has led Professor Irwin to interpret Amos and Hosea by it, rewrite Dr. Smith's interpretation of the Servant Songs of Isaiah, finding in the Fourth Song a personal picture of vicarious suffering which gives the inspiration to the poem which the old interpretation lacked.

We cannot say that Professor Irwin is as happy in his rewriting of the chapter on Ezekiel, the present storm-center of Old Testament criticism. The traditional interpretation of Ezekiel is at least clear-cut and cannot be far from the message of the book. That, the original work of Dr. Smith in the main conserved. In a book like this, designed as a handbook of elementary study, Professor Irwin's substitution of a critical essay is a questionable procedure. Unless criticism is constructive it had better remain in the laboratory.

On the whole, however, Professor Irwin has done an excellent piece of work, evidently a labor of love, and has given *The Prophets and Their Times* a new lease of life.

H. C. ALLEMAN

The World-View of Jesus. By Elmer W. K. Mould. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941. ix, 238 pages. \$2.

Here is an interpretation of Jesus as a thinker. It is not a "background" but an *integrating* book. The difference is important. Too many books of the former type attempt to deal with the environment of Jesus without perceiving the problem of environmental influences upon Jesus himself. Dr. Mould integrates Jesus' world-view with that of the Jewish wisdom teachers. He is concerned with the philosophy which was basic to Jesus' teachings. The data for determining what that philosophy was are compiled from such writings as Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, I and II Enoch, II Baruch, IV Ezra, IV Maccabees, and Philo Judaeus. The author shows what elements of Jewish "wisdom" entered into Jesus' thinking and discusses the question of Jesus' originality, making clear his creative contribution. His book will serve as an excellent text for the study of the teachings of Jesus.

Many writers, being interested in Jesus primarily as Prophet, King, or Saviour, have neglected the philosophical implications of his teaching. Hence there was need for such a corrective as Dr. Mould has provided. He begins by explaining the sense in which he applies the title "philosopher" to Jesus. It is neither in the modern nor in the ancient Greek sense, but as an ancient Jewish "wise man." He tries to avoid modernizing Jesus, and he interprets Jesus' teachings in the light of Jesus' own day and age. The chapter titles are: "Jesus, Teacher of Wisdom," "The Cosmos," "Man," "Providence and Purpose," "Evil," "The Future," "The Kingdom of God," "The Remnant," "Enduring Values," and "Epilogue: Wisdom Incarnate." There is a selected bibliography of one hundred eleven titles, covering the best literature on the subject.

A special merit of this book lies in its objectivity and matter of fact approach. It will not permit unwarranted modernization of Jesus by either humanist or neo-orthodox. It avoids the either-or fallacy to which so much current theological writing has fallen victim. By simply marshaling the facts, the author cuts the ground from under the interim ethics interpreters and all others who, alleging themselves to be realists, call the Sermon on the Mount an impossible possibility. "Whatever may be said for the doctrine of the relativity of ethics does not apply to the Golden Rule. It is absolute. It is not possible to imagine a time, a place, or a situation in which it ever was or ever would be right for any person to treat another as he would not wish to be treated himself, or not to treat another as he would wish himself to be treated" (p. 177).

The data here assembled show that the self-created problems of a dualist philosophy and a theology of the Totally Other are unwarranted modernizations when read back into the teachings of Jesus. These dilemmas are false: either immanent or imminent, either present or future, either material or spiritual, either earthly or transcendental, the Kingdom as either the gift of God or the achievement of man. Even less ground in the teachings of Jesus is to be found for the assertion that God does not love man because man has any value in himself but man has value only because God loves him.

People who are perplexed by the multitude of current calculators of the imminence of the Second Coming will find in Dr. Mould's chapter on "The Future" a clear and

concise statement of the teachings of Jesus on that subject. His book is to be commended as a stimulating discussion of the relation of Jesus' teachings to philosophy. It brings a reassuring word in these days about the Divine purposiveness in history. For all the fundamental questions of life, Jesus' teachings are shown to be of more than historical interest only. "The validity of Jesus' teaching for the present will be found where its validity for his own age and for his first followers was found, pertaining to those elements which are making for the arrival of the ethically and socially ideal" (p. 194).

R. T. STAMM

Paul Becomes a Literary Influence. By Albert E. Barnett. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. xiii, 277 pages. \$2.50.

In 1927 Professor E. J. Goodspeed's *New Solutions of New Testament Problems* set forth the hypothesis that it was the publication of Luke-Acts in the late 80's or early 90's of the first century that made Paul famous and led to the collection and publication of his letters. Ephesians was written as an introduction to the collected letters. Thereafter Paul became a literary influence. Before their publication as a collection, his letters had had no effect on other Christian writings.

Dr. Barnett's purpose is to test this hypothesis and trace the emergence of Paul as a literary influence in the early church. The time-span covered is roughly from 90 to 150 A. D., and the writings which are investigated for traces of literary dependence on Paul are Ephesians, the Apocalypse of John, First Peter, Hebrews, First Clement, the Gospel according to John, the Johannine Epistles, James, Jude, Second Peter and the Pastoral Epistles, the Apostolic Fathers and the Early Apologists, that is, all that remains of pre-Catholic Christian literature. They are treated chronologically.

The Greek text of the document under examination is printed and paralleled with the passage or passages from the letters of Paul and the letter to the Ephesians that seem to have been in the mind of the writer. The letters "A," "B," and "C" are used to indicate respectively, the practical certainty, a high degree of probability, and a reasonable degree of probability of literary indebtedness to Paul. Resemblances which may possibly reflect literary acquaintance but are not so clear appear in the tabular summary of results at the end of each document under the heading "unclassified."

Thirty-nine pages are devoted to Ephesians. Dr. Barnett concludes that its author used all of Paul's letters, most frequently Colossians, Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians, in the order named. It should be noted that if these conclusions are accepted it becomes more difficult than ever to suppose that Paul wrote Ephesians, for it is most unlikely that Paul kept a file of all his previous letters which he consulted as he wrote. When these findings are added to all the other reasons for regarding Ephesians as post-Pauline, we are on solid ground to conclude that Paul did not write it. Dr. John Knox in his book, *Philemon Among the Letters of Paul* (Chicago, 1935), has proposed the attractive hypothesis that it was Onesimus.

The general conclusion of Dr. Barnett's study is that all the other writings which he has examined show use of Paul's collected letters and Ephesians. But it is interesting to observe that during the first half of the second century, and more particularly during its second quarter, Paul waned in popularity, perhaps because he had become the favorite apostle of some heretical groups. The Epistle of James makes much less of Paul. Specific evidence to indicate that the writer of Jude was acquainted with Ephesians and the letters of Paul "is almost entirely lacking," and there is no warrant for certainty that Hermas used a letter of the Pauline collection. The same holds true for Barnabas, and the evidence for the Didache is also inconclusive. There are a few

traces of First Corinthians and Ephesians in Second Clement, and the writer of the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp shows probable acquaintance with First Corinthians and Philemon, and possibly with Romans, First Thessalonians and Second Corinthians.

"The second half of the second century was marked by the gradual return to popularity of Paul's letters, culminating in their inclusion in the Muratorian Canon. The author of II Peter refers with some embarrassment to the letters and his actual use of them is characterized by extreme reserve, and yet his specific mention of them (3:16) testifies to the favorable trend that was developing" (p. 222). "Among the probable motives of the author of the Pastorals was the rescue of the Pauline letters from the disfavor into which they seem to have fallen toward the middle of the second century as a result of their popularity among the Marcionites" (p. 251).

The importance of Dr. Barnett's work for the study of New Testament Introduction, the history of the Canon, and the manner in which the Scriptures of the New Testament were inspired and revealed is obvious. For example, the fact that the writer of First Peter shows two instances where it is practically certain that he used Romans, five instances highly probable and thirteen reasonably so, and that he shows acquaintance with several others of Paul's letters and uses Ephesians constitutes a difficulty for the hypothesis of Petrine authorship. Another example is seen in the summary of results for the Gospel of John: "The probabilities certainly favor acquaintance with the letters as a collection, and that collection almost certainly contained our ten letters. However, no traces of acquaintance with Philemon are found in the present study, and the indication of familiarity with II Thessalonians are very slight. The evidence for John's use of Ephesians, Romans, and Galatians is so strong as to amount to practical certainty" (p. 142). Here is something for those who still hold to the view that the Gospel was written by John the son of Zebedee to explain.

As an instrument of research this book will find wide and long continued use among New Testament students. The author himself is fully aware of the unavoidable subjective factor involved in the evaluation of evidence such as this, and he has done his utmost to minimize it. But the value of his work to those who approach the subject with views of the authorship, date and purpose of the documents which differ from his does not depend upon their acceptance of them. For he has exhibited the materials and discussed them in such a way that the reader may draw his own conclusions.

R. T. STAMM

Chronicle of John Malalas, Books VIII-XVIII. Translated from the Church Slavonic by Matthew Spinka in collaboration with Glanville Downey. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940. 150 pages. \$1.50.

John Malalas (c. 491-578 A. D.) was a native of Antioch in Syria. He wrote a Chronicle beginning with the creation of the world and ending with the death of the emperor Justinian (A. D. 565). Written, not for the learned, but for the instruction of the monks and the common people, this Chronicle long enjoyed great popularity, and its influence was widely extended through its translation into Slavonic.

Malalas is not a trustworthy historian. Around a framework of Scriptural and ecclesiastical history he weaves a confused mass of legend and history of the peoples of the ancient world. When he uses sources his method is crude. His narrative is full of inconsistencies and he places equal emphasis on important and unimportant things. He delights in miracle stories, palace intrigues and other curious items which he often inserts at places where they have no connection with the course of events which he is narrating. All these things are intended to entertain his readers, point a moral for the pious and serve as a Christian apologetic against paganism. The history of his Chronicle

is an instructive illustration of the fact that it is not the facts of history directly but what men believe the facts to have been that determines their conception of the past and the lessons they draw from it.

Nevertheless the Chronicle of John Malalas is not without value for the student of the period in which its author lived. It is an important source of information concerning the Greek language as it was spoken in the East in the sixth century A. D. And since Malalas was a native of Antioch and oriented his history about that city, his Chronicle is also useful to archaeologists in their task of reconstructing its history. It is this interest that has led to the present translation of the Slavonic version.

The Greek text of the Chronicle has been preserved only in an incomplete form in a single manuscript now at Oxford. Consequently the Slavonic version must be considered in producing a critical edition of the Greek text. In the translator's judgment, "Despite the fact that it must be used with extreme caution, the version still yields a modicum of information not to be found in the Greek text, and affords a sort of criterion by which it is possible to reconstruct some of the latter's corrupt readings."

The translation has been made at the request of the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University to supplement research on the history and topography of Antioch. Only those books (VIII-XVIII) which deal with Antioch are included. The text translated is V. M. Istrin's edition of the Slavonic version. Students of church history will be grateful for this addition to source materials available in English.

R. T. STAMM

The Amateur Choir Director. By Carl Hjortsvang. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1941. 127 pages. \$1.

Here is a small but valuable book which can be given a sincere recommendation. It is planned to be of assistance to the choral director of limited experience and modest accomplishment. The material is treated simply and with satisfactory fullness, so that it is truly helpful. The chapters take up in order The Director, The Technique of the Baton, Indicating Expression, Directing without a Baton, General Choir Technique, the Singer-Director and the Organist-Director, Recommended Anthems for a Volunteer Choir, and Bibliographical Materials. An especially good feature of the book is its illustration: there are figures which show the use of the baton, and plans illustrating various methods of arrangement of the singers.

Chapter Seven, which deals with recommended anthems for a volunteer choir, is for the most part satisfactory. It has in mind the ordinary performance of anthems in the usual non-liturgical church, and does not seek to provide music for churches which have liturgical requirements in service-music. Many of the anthems in the lists are commendable, but some of them are ill-chosen, and ought to be forgotten. The anthems are graded ('easy' and 'slightly more difficult'), and have analytical annotations.

The section dealing with 'general choir technique' contains a number of worthwhile suggestions which are the results of experience and understanding. One might draw attention to other attractive qualities in this work. It is one of the best handbooks of its kind to appear in a long time. Pastors will do well to bring it to the attention of the musicians in the churches.

GEORGE R. SELTZER

The Romance of the Creed Builders. By Robert Harris Gearhart, Jr., Philadelphia: The Castle Press, 1940. 67 pages. 75 cents.

One result of Dr. Gearhart's work as a student pastor was the early discovery that young people find it difficult to think in terms of the older generations, particularly in

matters of a religious nature, and that they find it hard to accept the facts of faith at the same value placed upon them by the church. Deeply sympathetic with youth, the author makes no attempt to enforce acceptance of the creeds on the basis of mere authority, but rather undertakes "to describe the facts and experiences through which the early Christians lived and out of which the early creeds of the church grew." This book is therefore not an explanation of the creed itself, but a statement of how it came to be. The Apostles' Creed is chosen as typical, with the understanding that similar conditions produced all of the church's early declarations of belief. The creed is aptly likened to a map wherein the explorers of a new spiritual realm have recorded their experience for the benefit of those who dare to follow. "Experience, not speculation" is found to be the active agent at work in creed building. The personal form, "I believe," still reveals the collective experience of individual Christians. The author takes us through the struggle of the early disciples with new ideas, and their search for words to describe new experiences. To the question "How did they know?" the answer must always be that they were keenly aware of the change which Christ had wrought within themselves. This experience fixed their understanding of the person of Christ and formed their own hopes for the future. The final form of the creed became factual rather than theological.

The chapters of this book are capable of considerable expansion. In addition to fulfilling the purpose for which it was written, it would be an admirable text book for a special study-class on the part of church organizations.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER

Bishop Butler Moralist and Divine. By William J. Norton, Jr. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1940. 336 pages. \$3.75.

This book is number one of a proposed series to be known as "Rutgers University Studies in Philosophy." Its author has chosen a most worthwhile life and work with which to begin the series, and it is to be hoped that subsequent additions will be as thoroughly done.

As recently as 1905 and dating back to the founding of Muhlenberg College, all the students were required to study Bishop Butler's *The Analogy of Christian Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature*. It is to be presumed, therefore, that there are still many older clergymen of the Lutheran Church who are consciously mindful of continued dependence upon the arguments of Butler. Many of our preachers employ the arguments of Butler, even though they may not be aware of the literary source or of the philosophic origin of them. To be sure, these arguments are now philosophically outmoded, and the motives which prompted Butler in 1736 to formulate them in defense of orthodoxy against the deists no longer are pertinent in the way Butler intended. But popular preaching has a way of continuing the apologetics of the past.

William J. Norton, Jr. has given us a very valuable study of all of the literary work of Butler. This includes the "Fifteen Sermons" the best known of Butler's writings to students of philosophic ethics, and likely, unfortunately for an understanding of his ethics, to be the only work known to those who are interested in Butler's philosophy and who would divorce his ethics from his theology. It also includes, in addition to "The Analogy," "Six Sermons Preached upon Public Occasions," "A Charge Delivered to the Clergy at the Primary Visitation of the Diocese of Durham," and the Correspondence between Butler and Samuel Clarke, along with some literary fragments.

Norton has taken these works and combed them very carefully, removing the irrelevancies, grouping the numerous repetitions, and objectively classifying his material

into a comprehensive system including epistemology, cosmology and ethics. Norton is very skillful in his objectivity. He keeps modern philosophic positions out of the picture, and, nevertheless, livens up eighteenth century Butler so that one who is familiar with modern, particularly ethical and philosophic, thinking becomes aware of Butler's important contribution. Kant's categorical imperative, and his offering of the universe, of moral perfectibility, and of progress as Ideals which men as knowers and doers striving successfully in an endless succession of finite moments of time to actualize are shown not only to be foreshadowed in Butler, but actually to have been taught by him in many passages in his works.

Norton has constructed a careful outline. With precise pedagogical concern, he emphasizes and repeatedly summarizes his growing system of Butler's thought. After a statement of his problem, which is to show that virtue is to be defined in terms wholly consistent with human nature, which in turn is wholly consistent with and a part of nature in the most inclusive sense, which again is to be explained with reference to God who is the Creator and Sustainer, Norton proceeds to trace Butler's analysis of the psychology of the moral self, to show some metaphysical aspects of the moral self, to develop Butler's social and political philosophy, to outline the nature of the universe, and to conclude with what he calls the moral life, according to Butler, which includes interestingly enough, though it is the least significant part of the book, a discussion of natural and revealed religion in the eighteenth century meanings of the terms.

To read chapters 5-14 provides one with an excellent brief survey of the effect of Locke's thought upon his contemporaries in the analysis of basic drives and appetites, leading to habits and patterns of action. One who reads with the history of English ethics in mind will also profit by Norton's fine evaluation of Butler's place in the conflict between the English hedonists led by Hobbes, against whom particularly Butler wrote, and the English Platonists, with whom Butler had too much reliance upon concrete human experience to agree. Both self-love and benevolence are mutually supporting and necessary, according to Butler, and are regulated properly by conscience. Modern readers could learn much from Butler's analysis of conscience. An impartial guide to such study is provided by our author.

While Norton is fair to Butler in treating of some metaphysical aspects of the moral self, as for instance the problem of personal immortality, Butler himself is only a traditionalist here, repeating the usual pre-Kantian arguments. But it is in the treatment of the social and political philosophy of Butler that one is most disappointed. This is not a criticism of Norton, the expositor, but of his subject who here is a most superficial stand-patter. Except for its worth as a presentation of the ecclesiastical mind of the time on social and economic problems, this section of the book might be conveniently left unread.

The section of the book dealing with the nature of the universe demonstrates the power and the originality of the Bishop. He is correctly reported by Norton as employing the classic rational arguments for the existence of God, which our popular preachers still use in spite of Kant's critical discussion of them. But with penetrating insight, Norton also appreciates Butler's real contribution in distinguishing between the universe as it is and the ideal universe that may come to be when man working according to God's plan will bring it to pass. "Whereas the ideality that is being progressively realized in nature is the direct work of God himself, the ideality of human nature has been left for man to realize concretely for himself." And since this idealized man in a perfect Kingdom of God is the ultimate end of God's ever unfolding creation, the importance of human virtue growing out of man's nature is all the more emphasized.

Again without criticizing Norton, for Lutheran readers of Butler there is a

surprising absence of evangelical truth. Butler belongs like many Anglican thinkers to the theological tradition of Aquinas. There is no sin in Butler. There is only ignorance. The gaps in our learning are enormous, but there is the confident optimism that belonged to the Enlightenment that with human effort and enough time man will become God-like. Christ is a prophet and a king, but hardly a priest, and certainly not a redeemer.

By one who would like to make a study of the strength and completeness of an eighteenth century theologian who has been more than ordinarily influential in English, including English Lutheran, thought, or one who would like to dig at the roots of most modern expressions of evolutionary theism, this book should be studied.

RUSSELL W. STINE

A Pastor Looks At Kierkegaard. The Man and His Philosophy. By William T. Riviere. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1941. 231 pages. \$1.50.

This pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Victoria, Texas, has met our step-brother Kierkegaard and then takes him along to the Rotary Club, introducing him with these words, "Meet the distinguished Master Kierkegaard." Of course he is not the whole Kierkegaard, for the author must gaze upon his friend through the mask of the translator. Inasmuch as so few of the Dane's works have been translated, it is viewing him as in a glass darkly.

For a book concerning Kierkegaard, the style makes for easy reading. As it is comprised of lectures and addresses delivered at various times and places it abounds in repetition. In many places the author does not hesitate to diverge from his theme, discussing evolution, pessimism, Barthianism, democracy, and Calvinism along with personal and pastoral problems—most of them remote from the problems that Kierkegaard tried to force so rigorously upon the attention of his readers.

The book has a genuine value if it will make the reader turn at least to the English translations of Kierkegaard's works of which the author gives a list almost up-to-date. If it interests some Lutheran clergymen to study Danish—as Emmanuel Hirsch has done—to know Kierkegaard without the mask, then the book has greater value. But the book is worthless if after reading it the reader thinks he is through with Kierkegaard. He will be the most deluded of all men.

Every busy pastor ought to read Kierkegaard and even books about him. It is questionable—and this ought to be said in all fairness—whether any *busy pastor* ought to attempt to write a book about this step-brother of ours!

BENJAMIN LOTZ

For Self-Examination, Recommended for the Times. By S. Kierkegaard, translated from the Danish by Edna and Howard Hong. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1940. 104 pages. \$1.

If you wish to read only one book written by Kierkegaard this is the book for you. That is Geismar's advice in his life of Kierkegaard, and his advice ought to be worth a great deal! For these devotional homilies—translated into up-to-date, idiomatic English eighty-nine years after they were written—introduce to you the gloomy Dane at his best where *cor ad cor loquitur*. Those who want to know him can not do otherwise than to procure this book and make it part and parcel of their inner lives.

BENJAMIN LOTZ

The Building of a Great Church. A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America with Special Reference to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. Second edition, revised and enlarged. By W. G. Polack. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941. 235 pages. \$1.25.

The first edition of this book, which appeared in 1926, was intended "particularly for the upper grades of our Christian schools." This second, revised, and enlarged edition was prepared in response to requests that the work "be brought up to date and expanded sufficiently so as to supply the average church member with enough detail for a fairly complete picture of Lutheranism in America." All but three of its twenty-seven brief chapters are devoted to the Missouri Synod or to the relations of this synod with other Lutheran bodies. Although it was written for "Missourians" (there are frequent references to "our synod," etc.), others will find this little book useful and instructive. The introduction of biographical sketches, occasional quotations from first-hand accounts, and many illustrations helps to make this a readable history.

T. G. TAPPERT

Is the Kingdom of God Realism? By E. Stanley Jones. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1940. 284 pages. \$2.

So widespread is the influence of E. Stanley Jones among evangelical Christians in the United States that any volume appearing over his signature has already won a large reading public. Months ago this book came to the reviewer who had listened to a great part of its contents during meetings of the National Christian Mission. A review, brief and caustic, was written—and tossed into the wastebasket! Caustic criticism directed at *Is the Kingdom of God Realism?* comes with poor grace from any American clergyman who is settled with a degree of comfort in the parochial milieu of our contemporary life. Stanley Jones and his writing deserve more noble treatment.

This volume lacks the charm and persuasiveness of the author's earliest published books; but here can be found the conviction and fervor of "sermons preached for a verdict." These tracts on the Reasonableness of the Kingdom Fact are profusely illustrated—*too* profusely—by references to the organic relationships between personal, national, social, spiritual "ill-th" and health. An authentic anecdote reveals how the essential issue can be confused by the procession of similar illustrations. During the preaching of one of the sermons later appearing in this volume a mother, turned to her restless adolescent son to whisper, "Be quiet! and in a few minutes you'll hear all about your pimples."

The author disavows any attempt at critical research into the meaning of The Kingdom of God or the interpretation of philosophical realism. The Kingdom of God is preached as a "fact," not as an "ideal." The Way of The Kingdom is presented as the higher common sense. "We are made for the right as the lungs are made for air;" "the right thing is always the healthy thing;" and of Jesus' preaching recorded early in Matthew, "Jesus is not preaching morality, but expounding the way life works." The following is one statement of the thesis, expanded and amplified by hundreds of illustrations: ". . . the eternal fitness of the Gospel—it fits the soul like a glove fits the hand. They are made for each other. But it not only fits the soul, it fits the body and the mind in the same fashion. Physically and mentally we are fashioned in every fiber and nerve cell to obey this Way as the law of life."

Throughout the book there is a vigorous protest against talk of "building the Kingdom," an idea which is alien alike to the New Testament and to the insights of classic Christendom. The Kingdom is "given;" it is a present fact to realize, and not something to create. Dr. Jones protests, rightly and effectively, it seems to the re-

viewer, against the drift toward identifying the church with the Kingdom. He designates the church "the Kingdom of the Religious Community," a relative something; the Kingdom, on the other hand, is named "an absolute." In his eagerness to establish his thesis the author approaches a position difficult to hold theologically as he tends to identify the "natural way" with the "Christian Way."

Is the Kingdom of God Realism? merits a reading, but for this reviewer the chaff very nearly concealed the wheat. A more effective work would have resulted from the use of fewer words. Admirers of Dr. Jones, and they are legion, have read the book long since, and watchful preachers with an eye for that which is homiletically useful, have discovered in it a Cyclopedia of Sermon Illustrations, lacking only an index. Whatever else may be said, this is a passionate and a hopeful interpretation of one aspect of the Gospel. Especially stimulating—and sobering—is the chapter on conversion entitled "The Realism of the New Birth."

L. RALPH TABOR

Eight American Praxapostoloi. By Kenneth W. Clark. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. 204 pages, 8 plates. \$2.

Under this title collations of eight of the ten Praxapostoloi (manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles) known to be in American collections have been made available by the planographic process. The two that have been omitted belong to the early period and have already been collated and published. The eight that have been included are all medieval, ranging in date from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Seven of them have never been published before. The eighth was published in 1936 but it is included in the present project because it belongs to a group of four manuscripts in the collection that exhibit important textual inter-relationships. Critical notes on each of the manuscripts are given in a descriptive section. The collations proper, covering 164 pages, report all variations, however slight, from the 1863 Lloyd-Sanday reprint of Mill's edition of Stephanus 1550. Eight illustrating plates, reproduced from the author's *Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America*, have been appended to the collations.

The basic importance of such collations can scarcely be exaggerated. Some of the most brilliant discoveries in the history of textual criticism must be credited ultimately to plodding research of the type that went into the making of this volume. The task of textual criticism is to a large extent a matter of tracing many different items back to a common ancestry. When several manuscripts are found to agree, particularly in their more or less eccentric readings, it is assumed that they are related. An effort is then made to trace their genealogy back through thousands of manuscripts and versions to the early period. In this way even minor items, from public and private collections all over the world, are made to play a part in the construction of a text that can be accepted with confidence as the practical equivalent of the autographs. It will be seen at once that the task of bringing these minor items into the picture is measurably facilitated by the publication of convenient collations like the one under review.

RUSSELL D. SNYDER

A Lamp of Burnished Gold. A Study of Our Church and Its Work. By Paul H. Krauss. Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House, 1941. 144 pages. 50 cents.

This is a second series textbook in the Leadership Training Course. The author states that its purpose is "to train and inspire leaders in the work of the United Lutheran Church and its synods." He fulfills his purpose admirably.

The materials he presents are carefully organized and move through the whole book in smooth progression. The questions for study and themes for discussion given at the end of each chapter seem especially good. The vocabulary used should not prove too difficult, though occasional words may drive students to their dictionaries.

This course should do an invaluable job for the church.

JOHN F. FUTCHS

John Hus and the Czech Reform. By Matthew Spinka. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. 81 pages. \$1.50.

Until the nineteenth century John Hus had often been regarded as the greatest representative of an independent Czech reform movement at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Then, influenced especially by the German historian Johann Loserth, Hus came to be thought of as an unoriginal imitator of John Wyclif and as a plagiarist whose "system of thought is a mere cock boat tugged behind in the backwash of a mighty galley—Wyclif." Czech historians have long disputed this newer interpretation, but students of late medieval church history who are innocent of the mysteries of the Slavic tongues have not been able to make use of the findings of these historians (except in the case of a few articles in such French journals as *Revue d'Histoire des Religions* and the *Revue Historique*). Professor Matthew Spinka has now rendered an important service by summarizing these findings in English. His conclusion is that, although Hus was indeed deeply influenced by the writings of Wyclif, the former also departed from the latter in "essential" respects, for he was far more deeply rooted in the independent Czech reform movement than he was in Wyclif. Like Hus himself this movement stressed "ethical conduct rather than abstract thought."

T. G. TAPPERT

Pastoral Psychology. By Karl Ruf Stolz. Revised edition. New York and Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1941. 284 pages. \$2.50.

The title of this book will attract the attention of ministerial readers who feel that some knowledge of psychology will help them to deal more competently with pastoral problems in their parishes.

The difficulty with the present volume is the fact that parts of it seem to be intended for readers who must still acquire the most elementary teachings of mental hygiene ("there should be no attempt to superimpose upon our children the ideas and experiences of a previous generation," p. 48), while in others the reader must struggle with such technical statements as that "overcompensation is an indication of failure in integration" (p. 225). That is difficult language, even after we have been informed that "integration as the act of combining the elements of personality into a stabilized whole entails the rational meeting of all situations in which one is involved."

The same curious inconsistency applies to Dr. Stolz's choice of case material. Some of his illustrations are so simple that they hardly seem to present a problem at all and others are so difficult as to defy the therapeutic possibilities of the most experienced pastor.

The author is at his best in the chapters which describe the practical work of the counselor, his approach to sex difficulties, fears, and the use of specialized diagnostic methods. A consistent effort has been made throughout the book to emphasize the "pastoral" function and to show the place which religion must play in the solution of human problems. Some valuable insight has thus been gained, notably in the chapter on the "Technique of private prayer and worship," but the author's attempt to define "extroverted, introverted and ambiverted religious types" can hardly be called

successful. In discussing "Fundamental Psychology" we find such a naive suggestion as that "conservatives and liberals unite in a practical campaign for social betterment, such as a crusade to make the world warless" (p. 82).

The reader is at times bewildered by the loose use of psychological terms ("Refusal to recognize unpleasant facts is an indication of mental inferiority") and the ease with which minor biblical characters of whom we know very little are used in homiletical fashion to prove a point in psychology ("Lydia was a merchant and as such presumably practical and objective, a woman of poise and serenity," p. 86).

This reviewer would have liked some reference to the explanation of behavior as reaction patterns, a school of thought which has been developed by Adolf Meyer and the psychobiologists and has given such valuable insight into human motivation and conduct.

Dr. Stolz, who is dean of the Hartford School of Religious Education, has apparently little personal contact with the religious life of Lutheran congregations. His illustrations of religious difficulties are largely of the type engendered by a more emotional type of Christian teaching, and any Lutheran pastor knows better than to accept the statement that "the public confession of the worshiping congregation may impart to the individual an aesthetic thrill rather than a sense of personal guilt and a desire for pardon and amendment" (p. 223).

There is much material in Dr. Stolz's book which will interest and stimulate the reader who has some familiarity with the field and problems of pastoral psychology, but it can hardly be recommended as an introduction for the novice.

CARL J. SCHINDLER

INDEX TO VOLUME XIV

I. AUTHORS AND SUBJECTS

ABERLY, JOHN	
Reviews of: Mackay, <i>A Preface to Christian Theology</i>	218
Schilpp, <i>The Philosophy of George Santayana</i>	225
Niebuhr, <i>The Nature and Destiny of Man</i>	342
ALLBECK, WILLARD D.	
Humanitarianism and Inner Missions	378
ALLEMAN, HERBERT C.	
Reviews of: Albright, <i>From the Stone Age to Christianity</i>	215
Smith-Irwin, <i>The Prophets and Their Times</i>	447
Apostles' Creed Necessary, Is Revision of the	334
BACHMANN, E. THEODORE	
Review of: Sizoo, <i>Not Alone</i>	114
BAGGER, HENRY H.	
Cardinal Points of the Minister's Compass	61
Review of: Jacobs, <i>What Then Is Christianity?</i>	99
BAUGHMAN, HARRY F.	
The Preacher as Pontifex	234
BERKEMEYER, WILLIAM C.	
Music in the Service of the Lutheran Church	67
Bible and Our Culture Mentality, The	243
BILLHEIMER, STANLEY	
Review of: Gearhart, <i>The Romance of the Creed Builders</i>	451
Canada, Lutheran Maturity in	351
Christ's Death, Paul's Ethical Interpretation of	27
Church and State, The Relation of	71
Church's Strategy for Survival, The	262
DAVIS, H. GRADY	
Review of: Strödach, <i>The Parable of the Empty Soul</i>	228
DOBERSTEIN, JOHN W.	
Translation of Hans Preuss' "Luther as Communicant"	191
Review of: Waterhouse, <i>Psychology and Pastoral Work</i>	112
DRACH, GEORGE	
Foreign Missions and the Wars in Europe and Asia	19
Face: A Study in Christian Ethics	200
Is Revision of the Apostles' Creed Necessary?	334
DUNKELBERGER, HAROLD A.	
Philosophy's Influence on Luther	392
EBERT, ANNA	
Requirements for Christian Social Work	429
Ethics, A Study of Christian	200
FINCK, THEODORE K.	
Review of: Weigle, <i>Jesus and the Educational Method</i>	106
FISCHER, E. E.	
Reviews of: Bang, <i>The Nature and Function of the Church</i>	101
James, <i>The Social Function of Religion</i>	219
Carroll, <i>What Price Alcohol?</i>	219
Rehwinkel, <i>The World Today</i>	345
Piper, <i>The Christian Interpretation of Sex</i>	437
FLESNER, DORRIS A.	
The Use of Exempla in Medieval Preaching	148
FORTENBAUGH, ROBERT	
Review of: Douglass, <i>The Story of German Methodism</i>	118
FRITZ, IRA S.	
Review of: Schuette, <i>God Save the Home!</i>	113
FUTCHS, JOHN F.	
Review of: Krauss, <i>A Lamp of Burnished Gold</i>	456

GIBSON, JAMES E.	
The German Academy or Seminary in Philadelphia, 1773-1777	84
GREENHOLT, H. R.	
Review of Schwartz, <i>A Philosophy of History</i>	105
GREEVER, WALTON H.	
Review of: Weatherhead, <i>This Is the Victory</i>	344
HAAG, H.	
Review of: McKee, <i>The Role of the Priest on the Parisian Stage</i>	105
HAGEDORN, IVAN H.	
God Has Left Witnesses	405
HEICK, OTTO W.	
Albrecht Ritschl in Modern Thought	361
HEIM, RALPH D.	
The Doctrine of Original Sin	308
Reviews of: Wiles-Smith, <i>The Lesson Commentary</i>	115
Elliott, <i>Can Religious Education Be Christian?</i>	221
HELLER, MARK OWEN	
The Union Church Problem in Eastern Pennsylvania	174
HENRICH, HUBERT J.	
The Negro of the North and the Lutheran Church	422
HERSHEY, ROBERT D.	
Review of: Gast, <i>The Gospel According to St. Luke</i>	345
HOH, PAUL J.	
Review of: Cadoux, <i>Christian Pacifism Re-examined</i>	439
HOOVER, H. D.	
Reviews of: Gardner, <i>Let's Celebrate Christmas</i>	115
Linfield, <i>Statistics of Jews and Jewish Organizations</i>	117
Ironsides, <i>Care for God's Fruit Trees</i>	348
HUFFMAN, PAUL E.	
The Christian's Use of the Old Testament	76
JACOBS, CHARLES M.	
The Relation of Church and State	71
KANTONEN, T. A.	
Review of: Niebuhr, <i>The Meaning of Revelation</i>	444
KEITER, H.	
Review of: Coates, <i>War—What Does the Bible Say?</i>	440
KERN, FREDERICK W.	
Review of: Kuhlmann, <i>Cross-Examined</i>	229
KIRSCH, PAUL J.	
The Church's Strategy for Survival	262
KLINE, THOMAS B.	
Review of: Moldenhawer, <i>The Voice of Books</i>	227
KOON, LEWIS	
Reviews of: Stover, <i>What Do We Know About Life After Death?</i>	346
Baer, <i>Windows That Let in the Light</i>	346
KRUMBHOLTZ, C. E.	
Review of: Boylan, <i>Social Welfare in the Catholic Church</i>	442
LENSKI, GERHARD E.	
The Quest for Christian Fellowship	277
LOTZ, BENJAMIN	
Reviews of: Maier, <i>Peace Through Christ</i>	113
Fleming, <i>Christian Symbols in a World Community</i>	232
Riviere, <i>A Pastor Looks at Kierkegaard</i>	454
Kierkegaard-Hong, <i>For Self-Examination</i>	454
Luther as Communicant	191
Luther, Philosophy's Influence on	392
Minister's Compass, Cardinal Points of the	61
Ministry, Toward a Better	3
Missions and the Wars in Europe and Asia, Foreign	19
Missions, Humanitarianism and Inner	378
Music in the Service of the Lutheran Church	67
MYERS, J. M.	
Review of: Kenyon, <i>The Bible and Archaeology</i>	107
Negro of the North and the Lutheran Church	422

NOLDE, O. FREDERICK	
Religious Education and the Public Schools	293
Reviews of: Siegart, <i>He Started from Nowhere</i>	346
Brinton, <i>Quaker Education in Theory and Practice</i>	348
NORDBERG, G.	
The Meaning of Personality	325
OFFERMANN, H.	
Review of: Moffatt, <i>Jesus Christ the Same</i>	217
Old Testament, The Christian's Use of the	76
ORTNER, ELMER A.	
Review of: Sease, <i>The March of Missions</i>	116
PEERY, T. BENTON	
More About Lutheran Preaching Today	206
Reviews of: Young, <i>The Promises of God</i>	347
Matzner, <i>To Live Is Christ</i>	347
PERSHING, B. H.	
Review of: Knollenberg, <i>Washington and the Revolution</i>	224
Personalism and Christian Thinking	123
Personality, The Meaning of	325
PFOHL, ARTHUR J.	
Review of: Holt, <i>This Nation Under God</i>	110
Preacher as Pontifex, The	234
Preaching, The Literary Tradition in	164
Preaching, The Use of Exempla in Medieval	148
Preaching Today, More About Lutheran	206
PREUSS, HANS	
Luther as Communicant	191
RASMUSSEN, CARL CHRISTIAN	
Thus Saith the Lord	40
Review of: Mathews, <i>Is God Emeritus?</i>	446
REASER, PAUL L.	
Review of: Maier, <i>For Better Not for Worse</i>	438
Religious Education and the Public Schools	348
Ritschl in Modern Thought	361
RUDISILL, EARL S.	
Personalism and Christian Thinking	123
RUFF, G. ELSON	
Review of: Richardson, <i>Toward a More Efficient Church</i>	114
Rural Pastors, New Opportunities for the Training of	417
SANDERS, C. F.	
Review of: Gotshalk, <i>Metaphysics in Modern Times</i>	100
SCHINDLER, CARL J.	
Review of: Stolz, <i>Pastoral Psychology</i>	457
SCHMIDT, JOHN	
Review of: Siegart, <i>Songs in the Night</i>	230
SCHREIBER, OTTO L.	
Ancient Ecclesiastical Libraries	209
SCHROEDER, MARTIN D.	
New Opportunities for the Training of Rural Pastors	417
SEAMAN, WILLIAM R.	
The Book of Job and the Problem of Suffering	52
SELTZER, GEORGE R.	
Reviews of: Papakosta, <i>Eusebius Matthapoulos, Founder of Zoe</i>	104
Anderson, <i>The Church Manual of Olavus Petri</i>	106
Hjortsvang, <i>The Amateur Choir Director</i>	451
SITTLER, JOSEPH, JR.	
On the Literary Tradition in Preaching	164
SNYDER, RUSSELL D.	
Review of: Clark, <i>Eight American Praxapostoloi</i>	456
Social Work, Requirements for Church	429
STAMM, RAYMOND T.	
Reviews of: Ellwood, <i>The World's Need of Christ</i>	108
Barnett, <i>Paul Becomes a Literary Influence</i>	449
Spinka-Downey, <i>Chronicle of John Malalas</i>	450
Mould, <i>The World-View of Jesus</i>	448

STINE, RUSSELL W.	
Review of: Norton, <i>Bishop Butler, Moralism and Divine</i>	452
STOUGHTON, C. C.	
Review of: Cecil, <i>The Oxford Book of Christian Verse</i>	98
STREYIG, J. R.	
Review of: Weatherhead, <i>Things Which Cannot Be Shaken</i>	117
Suffering, The Book of Job and the Problem of	52
SWANK, CALVIN P.	
Review of: <i>Lutheran Book of Prayer</i>	347
SYRE, RICHARD R.	
The Bible and Our Culture Mentality	243
TABOR, L. RALPH	
Review of: Jones, <i>Is the Kingdom of God Realism?</i>	455
TAPPERT, THEODORE G.	
Reviews of: Qualben, <i>The Lutheran Church in Colonial America</i>	102
Gohdes, <i>The Modern Papacy</i>	119
Polack, <i>The Building of a Great Church</i>	455
Spinka, <i>John Hus and the Czech Reform</i>	457
Union Church Problem in Eastern Pennsylvania	174
WALTEMYER, W. C.	
Reviews of: Baker, <i>A Short History of Christianity</i>	222
Knox, <i>The Man Christ Jesus</i>	343
WEBER, GUSTAVE W.	
Review of: Schramm, <i>At Jesus' Feet</i>	231
WENTZ, ABDEL ROSS	
Toward a Better Ministry	3
Reviews of: Hardy, <i>Militant in Earth</i>	222
Emerton, <i>The Letters of St. Boniface</i>	223
WIENCKE, GUSTAV K., JR.	
Crucified with Christ: Paul's Interpretation of Christ's Death	27
WILLISON, N.	
Lutheran Maturity in Canada	351
WINTERS, ROY L.	
Review of: Schramm, <i>Our Great Salvation</i>	230

II. BOOKS REVIEWED

Albright, <i>From the Stone Age to Christianity</i>	215
Anderson, <i>The Church Manual of Olavus Petri</i>	106
Baer, <i>Windows That Let in the Light</i>	346
Baker et al., <i>A Short History of Christianity</i>	222
Bang, <i>The Nature and Function of the Church</i>	101
Barnett, <i>Paul Becomes a Literary Influence</i>	449
Boylan, <i>Social Welfare in the Catholic Church</i>	442
Brinton, <i>Quaker Education in Theory and Practice</i>	348
Cadoux, <i>Christian Pacifism Re-examined</i>	439
Carroll, <i>What Price Alcohol?</i>	219
Cecil, <i>The Oxford Book of Christian Verse</i>	98
Clark, <i>Eight American Praxapostoloi</i>	456
Coates, <i>War—What Does the Bible Say?</i>	440
Douglass, <i>The Story of German Methodism</i>	118
Elliott, <i>Can Religious Education Be Christian?</i>	221
Ellwood, <i>The World's Need of Christ</i>	108
Emerton, <i>The Letters of St. Boniface</i>	223
Fleming, <i>Christian Symbols in a World Community</i>	232
Gardner, <i>Let's Celebrate Christmas</i>	115
Gast, <i>The Gospel According to St. Luke</i>	345
Gearhart, <i>The Romance of the Creed Builders</i>	451
Gohdes, <i>Does the Papacy Require a New Evaluation?</i>	119
Gotshalk, <i>Metaphysics in Modern Times</i>	100
Hardy, <i>Militant in Earth</i>	222
Hjortsvang, <i>The Amateur Choir Director</i>	451
Holt, <i>This Nation Under God</i>	110
Ironsides, <i>Care for God's Fruit Trees</i>	348

Jacobs, <i>What Then Is Christianity?</i>	99
James, <i>The Social Function of Religion</i>	219
Jones, <i>Is the Kingdom of God Realism?</i>	455
Kenyon, <i>The Bible and Archaeology</i>	107
Kierkegaard-Hong, <i>For Self-Examination</i>	454
Knollenberg, <i>Washington and the Revolution</i>	224
Knox, <i>The Man Christ Jesus</i>	343
Krauss, <i>A Lamp of Burnished Gold</i>	456
Kuhlmann, <i>Cross-Examined</i>	229
Linfield, <i>Statistics of Jews and Jewish Organizations</i>	117
Lutheran Book of Prayer	347
Mackay, <i>A Preface to Christian Theology</i>	218
Maier, <i>Peace Through Christ</i>	113
——, <i>For Better Not for Worse</i>	438
Mathews, <i>Is God Emeritus?</i>	446
Matzner, <i>To Live Is Christ</i>	347
McKee, <i>The Role of the Priest on the Parisian Stage</i>	105
Moffatt, <i>Jesus Christ the Same</i>	217
Moldenhawer, <i>The Voice of Books</i>	227
Mould, <i>The World View of Jesus</i>	448
Niebuhr, H. R., <i>The Meaning of Revelation</i>	444
Niebuhr, R., <i>The Nature and Destiny of Man</i>	342
Norton, <i>Bishop Butler, Moralists and Divine</i>	452
Papakosta, <i>Eusebius Matthapoulos</i>	104
Piper, <i>The Christian Interpretation of Sex</i>	437
Polack, <i>The Building of a Great Church</i>	455
Qualben, <i>The Lutheran Church in Colonial America</i>	102
Rehwinkel, <i>The World Today</i>	345
Richardson, <i>Toward a More Efficient Church</i>	114
Riviere, <i>A Pastor Looks at Kierkegaard</i>	454
Schilpp, <i>The Philosophy of George Santayana</i>	225
Schramm, <i>At Jesus' Feet</i>	231
——, <i>Our Great Salvation</i>	230
Schuette, <i>God Save the Home!</i>	113
Schwartz, <i>A Philosophy of History</i>	105
Sease, <i>The March of Missions</i>	116
Siegart, <i>Songs in the Night</i>	230
——, <i>He Started from Nowhere</i>	346
Sizoo, <i>Not Alone</i>	114
Smith-Irwin, <i>The Prophets and Their Times</i>	447
Spinka, <i>John Hus and the Czech Reform</i>	457
Spinka-Downey, <i>Chronicle of John Malalas</i>	450
Stolz, <i>Pastoral Psychology</i>	457
Stover, <i>What Do We Know About Life After Death?</i>	346
Strodach et al., <i>The Parable of the Empty Soul</i>	228
Waterhouse, <i>Psychology and Pastoral Work</i>	112
Weatherhead, <i>Things Which Cannot Be Shaken</i>	117
——, <i>This Is the Victory</i>	344
Weigle, <i>Jesus and the Educational Method</i>	106
Wiles-Smith, <i>The Lesson Commentary</i>	115
Young, <i>The Promises of God</i>	347

BOOKS RECEIVED

For the information of its readers and in acknowledgment to the publishers, THE LUTHERAN CHURCH QUARTERLY publishes the following list of books received. More extended notice will be given to as many of them as space permits.

- Fiedler, Fred J., *Then the Light Came*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1941. 203 pages. Paper. 60 cents.
- Graebner, Theodore, *War in the Light of Prophecy. Was It Foretold? A Reply to Modern Chiliasm*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941. 143 pages. \$1.
- Hartshorne, Charles, *Man's Vision of God and the Logic of Theism*. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co., 1941. 359 pages. \$3.
- Hopkins, Charles Howard, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. 352 pages. \$3.
- Hughes, Thomas Hywel, *The Psychology of Preaching and Pastoral Work*. New York: Macmillan, 1941. 263 pages. \$2.25.
- Kiddle, Martin, *The Revelation of St. John*. The Moffatt New Testament Commentary. New York: Harpers, 1940. 460 pages. \$3.50.
- Latourette, Kenneth S., *The Great Century, 1800-1914*. Vol. IV of A History of the Expansion of Christianity. New York: Harpers, 1941. 516 pages. \$3.50.
- Leys, Wayne A. R., *Ethics and Social Policy*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. 522 pages. \$4.
- Link, Henry C., *The Return to Religion*. 35th printing. New York: Macmillan, 1941. 181 pages. \$1.
- Maier, Walter A., *Courage in Christ*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1941. 387 pages. \$1.50.
- Reu, M., *Can We Still Hold to the Lutheran Doctrine of the Lord's Supper?* Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1941. 88 pages. Paper. 50 cents.
- Scott, Ernest F., *The Nature of the Early Church*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. 245 pages. \$2.

*A Book on Public Speaking Which Should Be in
Every Pastor's Library*

HOW SHALL I SAY IT ?

*Ross
H.
Stover*

This work represents the culmination of knowledge of the technique of public speaking gained by the author through years of practical experience as an eminent preacher, radio and platform speaker and highly acclaimed professor of public speaking.

The mechanics of speech are vividly revealed in chapters dealing with: Posture; Breathing; Voice; Articulation; Gesture; Fervency; Touches of Excellence; Speech Formulas. Quite the reverse of an academic discussion, the principles of effective public speaking are here stated in a concise manner that is easily comprehended.

Abundant study and reference aids are included. Illustrations abound. Helpful exercises are given. Key points and sub-topics are emphasized in the margins. Type arrangement focuses attention immediately on subject matter.

Only \$1.00

The United Lutheran Publication House

THIRTEENTH AND SPRUCE STREETS, PHILADELPHIA

CHICAGO

COLUMBIA

PITTSBURGH